

**The Neo-Colonialism
of the West German
Federal Republic**

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A Documentation

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Introduction

The victorious campaign of the national liberation revolutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America is one of the main features of our epoch. It is the result of a hard, unrelenting and often sacrificial struggle of the national liberation movement in alliance with all other revolutionary forces the world over, particularly the socialist countries. The decaying colonial system is crumbling under its blows.

However, the endeavours of international finance capital to continue exploitation of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples and to misuse them for their power-policy aims have remained. Imperialism also continues using the same means of violently countering the national liberation movement, as has been proven by the latest events in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo and Cyprus. The imperialist colonial terror becomes even more evident in the still existing colonies such as Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere.

The changed conditions under which imperialism exists today have compelled it to alter its strategy and tactics in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. In addition to employing violence and terror; the most brutal and loathsome forms used by imperialism against the national liberation movement, new forms of neo-colonialist policy are gaining in importance. The emergence of a large number of national states, their struggle to strengthen their national sovereignty and for the construction of a national economy independent of imperialism as well as the rapid spreading of socialist ideas and their application in the political and economic life of those countries and the possibility of a step-by-step withdrawal of the young national states from the capitalist economic world system – all this has caused the neo-colonialists to try and prevent social and economic progress in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, especially their non-capitalist development which leads them onto the road to socialism.

Together with the United States and in close alliance with it, the West German Federal Republic is one of the most active imperialist powers with regard to reaching this new strategic aim of neo-colonialism. It is allegedly no colonial power. Therefore, within the framework of world imperialism it has been given the task of playing the role of the Trojan horse in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. It uses especially well-camouflaged and refined methods which it calls "development aid".

Seemingly in contradiction to this is the fact that West Germany takes an active, and no less well-camouflaged part in the colonial wars and other terror and violent measures against the heroic fight of the national liberation movement. This is one of the most important peculiarities of West German neo-colonialism which drastically exposes its extremely aggressive and dangerous character.

In the following documentation we present evidence of the especially aggressive character of West German neo-colonialism. We have used exclusively West German sources. We rely especially on announcements by the West German government, statements by West German ministers, news items and commentaries published by the West German pro-government press. They give documentary proof that Bonn is a sworn enemy of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We know German imperialism from the bitter experiences of our own history. That is why we regard it as our international duty and an act of international solidarity with the national liberation movement all over the world to warn the fighting peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against West German neo-colonialism.

The Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Winneba has again appealed to all progressive forces throughout the world to fight jointly against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We also take this call for practical solidarity as an appeal to make available to all peoples our knowledge of the methods, the outward appearances and the driving forces behind the actions of our common enemy, West German neo-colonialism. By knowing exactly who our enemies are, the dangers created by them, their forces and how they arise it will be possible for

us to struggle unitedly and still more successfully against neo-colonialism.

We therefore place evidence on the following facts before the world public:

- 1) The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin are opponents of the national liberation movements and the aspirations for independence of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples. They are the main allies and chief supporters of still existing colonialism. They are part of those imperialist forces which are artificially keeping alive the colonialist Salazar regime, which are making possible and actively supporting Portuguese colonialist terror in Africa. They practise solidarity with the Verwoerd regime in South Africa and encourage its racist terror. They sabotage the resolutions of the United Nations, the governments of the African and Asian countries, and of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to boycott the Republic of South Africa. They are engaging in a military plot with the Verwoerd regime aiming at equipping both the racists in South Africa and the Hitler generals in West Germany with atomic weapons.
- 2) The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin take an active part in all barbarous measures of suppression and violence and neo-colonialism's annihilation campaigns against the national liberation movements. They directly and indirectly support the bloody attacks on the Vietnamese, Congolese and Cypriot people. In contradiction to the attitude of the majority of all states they enthusiastically welcomed the American aggression against the Dominican Republic. They are in the forefront with respect to political, economic and military aid to the military dictatorships in those Asian countries which are members of imperialist pact systems. They are developing Israel into an imperialist bridgehead in the Near East for an attack on the Arab countries. They are helping Malaysia in its neo-colonialist expansionist policy against Indonesia.

- 3) The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin are trying to use so-called military aid to gain influence in the apparatus of power of the newly independent states. They want to effect counter-revolutionary changes with regard to the relations of power in those countries, align them with NATO, and by provoking military conflicts break up Afro-Asian solidarity. In this they are acting in the interests of NATO, especially of the USA and cooperating closely with the former colonial powers.
- 4) The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin are making use of their economic "aid" to the young national states as a means to threaten, blackmail and interfere in their internal affairs. For them economic "aid" is an instrument of their aggressive foreign policy. It is to induce the African, Asian and Latin American countries to support the Federal Republic's efforts to obtain atomic weapons, to implement its territorial claims against Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR and to eliminate the German Democratic Republic, the democratic German state liberated from imperialism. There are political and economic strings attached to their economic "aid" which disregard the right of self-determination of the African, Asian, and Latin American countries and violate their national sovereignty. They break existing agreements so as to "punish" states which do not bow to their imperialist dictatorship.
- 5) The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin are pursuing a ruthless policy of exploitation and plunder in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. They obstruct the internal accumulation of those countries, establish themselves at their raw material sources, flood their markets thus making huge profits at the expense of those states. They are trying to perpetuate the capitalist principle of the international division of labour on their world market and thereby also the imperialist powers' economic dominance over the African, Asian, and Latin American countries.

- 6) In the Federal Republic of West Germany and in West Berlin the people are systematically being inculcated with the spirit of racialism and neo-colonialism. Press, schools and universities are propagating the "theory" of the white master race and the alleged inferiority of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples. In this connection the ideological and political traditions of Hitler fascism are being continued. Seriously incriminated war criminals, Hitler diplomats and ideological pace-makers of the nazi race persecution and mass murder take a leading part in the neo-colonialist policy of expansion pursued by the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and West Berlin.
- 7) The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin are pursuing a policy aiming at obstructing social progress in the African, Asian and Latin American countries and preventing the victory of economic independence. They are doing everything in their power to frustrate a successful search for new forms of social development in those states. They are making use of numerous organizations and institutions, of hypocritical arguments and practical measures to extend the discredited capitalist system and thwart any non-capitalist, anti-imperialist development. They ignore the will of the peoples and disregard their decisions. Their aim is the rule of neo-colonialism.

Berlin, June 1965

Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee
in the German Democratic Republic

I. On the Side of the Colonial Rulers

For decades bitter struggles have been fought between the colonial powers and the peoples struggling for their liberation from colonialism. The vast majority of countries throughout the world have decided for the immediate abolition of the humiliating system of colonial slavery. The Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly condemned colonialism, demanded its abolition and confirmed the principle of the sovereign equality of all peoples. In close alliance with all progressive people in the world the organizations of the African countries, of the non-aligned states and of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement support the struggle for freedom and independence of the countries still oppressed by colonialism.

On whose side is Bonn? Do the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany and West Berlin support the colonial powers or do they support the peoples struggling for their national liberation from the yoke of colonialism?

The Bonn government's note on "The German Africa Policy" which was submitted to the delegations of all countries with which the Federal Republic of West Germany maintains diplomatic relations during the Eighteenth Session of the UN General Assembly at the end of 1963, states:

"The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany in connection with the African and Asian countries which has been publicly stated on more than one occasion is based on the fundamental right of all peoples to full sovereignty."

(Neues Afrika, Bonn, 1/1964, p. 32)

This statement – it is not the only one of its kind – does not correspond to the reality of Bonn policy. The facts prove it. The mouthpieces of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin reveal the true

West German and West Berlin conception about colonialism and independence:

Colonialism = Stability + Civilization

"World public opinion is anti-colonialist but it was colonialism that first brought order and stability to the African continent. All civilization and education existing in Africa is a product of colonialism."
(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 19 July 1960)

Colonialists Should Have Ruled Several More Decades

"No one will contest that it would in many cases have been better for the prosperity of the coloured peoples if experienced British pro-consuls had reigned over them for several decades more. But for the passionate nationalism of the coloured people problems of this kind of expediency were entirely unimportant."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 30 January 1964)

Independence Too Early

"Frank words of the overthrown Sultan of Zanzibar, unfortunately uttered too late, that the island was granted independence too early, also apply to other African states."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 1 February 1964)

This fundamental attitude toward colonialism and the independence of the African and Asian peoples is consistently put into practice by the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and West Berlin.

Support for Portuguese Colonialism

This is particularly impressively proved by the relations between the ruling circles of the Federal Republic and West Berlin and the Portuguese Salazar regime which is maintaining a barbarous colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Aumén, Portuguese Timor, on the Cape Verde Islands and in Portuguese Guinea.

The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their supporters in West Berlin

- *glorify and justify Portuguese colonial rule,*
- *extend moral and political aid to the dictatorial Salazar regime and cooperate militarily with it,*
- *enable the Portuguese colonialists to wage a colonial war against the African liberation movement by means of economic and financial assistance,*
- *share in the colonial robbery of Angola,*
- *supply Portugal with weapons for the suppression and terrorization of the African freedom fighters.*

They back Salazar. They support him. They make the colonial terror possible. They profit from it. They are no less guilty of the sufferings and the tears of Africa than Salazar himself. They have decided for colonialism and against the national liberation movement.

Here the evidence:

Hymn of Praise to Portuguese Colonial Rule

While the UN Security Council in summer 1963 was dealing with Portuguese colonial policies, and progressive mankind was trying to find ways and means to call a halt to the barbarous terror of Salazar's colonial mercenaries against the Angolan people, to stop colonialist murder in Angola and help the suffering people to win freedom and independence, a group of prominent West German politicians and generals were demonstratively touring Angola and Mozambique on the invitation of the Portuguese government. It included Bundeswehr General Fritz Behrendsen, revanchist leader Hans Joachim von Merkatz and a number of other deputies of the West German Bundestag. They followed the path of Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, the president of the West German parliament who, during a journey to Angola as early as 1960, had openly announced his solidarity with the Portuguese colonialist policies. Head of the group was the prominent CDU (Christian Demo-

cratic Union) politician Dr. Richard Jaeger. He is one of the top leaders in the Federal Republic of West Germany. He is vice-president of the West German Bundestag and chairman of its defence commission. This makes him a trustworthy witness for the ideology, attitude and policy of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany. He did not remain silent during and after his journey. He spoke about Angola, about Mozambique and about Portuguese colonial rule. His voice is the voice of German imperialism. His program is the program for the justification and ideological support of Portuguese colonialism.

It begins with Dr. Jaeger being of the opinion that "developments in Angola and Mozambique in the past few years have been very satisfactory" (Die Welt, Hamburg, 16 August 1963). As becomes the benefactor and ally of Salazar's colonialism he called the brutal colonial suppression of Angola and Mozambique a "significant economic, social and cultural accomplishment of Portugal in past decades" (Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 30 August 1963). "The Salazar government has achieved something really great there which does credit to Portugal" (Die Welt, Hamburg, 16 August 1963). This is what Dr. Jaeger discovers in a country groaning under colonial rule and desperately struggling for its freedom:

"Great progress can be seen in all these regions in regard to the construction of schools, hospitals, kindergartens, and so on . . ."
(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 30 August 1963)

This "progress" does credit to dictator Salazar which "democrat" Dr. Jaeger phrases as follows:

"Only under the Salazar government . . . is an upswing noticeable both in the mother country and in the overseas regions . . ."
(Ibid.)

Dr. Jaeger sees the "details" of Portuguese colonial policies, of which the world knows mainly about the forced labour along with the military terror, as follows:

"I have the impression that Portugal has made it possible for every

black man to avail himself of every form of education, but that it does not, however, use coercive measures."

(Ibid.)

Naturally, even Dr. Jaeger cannot ignore the armed resistance of the Angolan people against its oppressors. But he slanders the liberation movement so as to cloak the bestiality of Salazar's colonial mercenaries. He therefore speaks of a revolt

"... begun by the natives with unbelievabe atrocioussness and then defeated with no less gruesome means not by the Portuguese troops but on occasion by the settlers..."

(Ibid.)

The fact that the Angolan liberation movement enjoys the solidarity of its African brothers in their just struggle Dr. Jaeger considers as proof "that not Portugal endangers world peace in Angola but its opponents" (ibid.). And since Dr. Jaeger is right in the middle of putting reality upside down in justification of Portuguese colonialism and its crimes he does not think twice about declaring Portuguese colonial rule as non-existent:

"And I feel that the word 'foreign rule' is not appropriate for territories under Portuguese administration for almost five hundred years, and that probably also the natives - at least in the biggest part of the country - do not consider it as such."

(Ibid.)

For Jaeger the African peoples are not yet mature enough for independence and self-determination. He says:

"But I presume that a considerable period of time will have to elapse before they have developed so far as to be able to share in governing, in making decisions and have the right of self-determination in their territories."

(RIAS, - Radio in American sector - West Berlin, 20 August 1963)

Just as unrestricted is also Dr. Jaeger's praise for Portuguese colonialism. He is of the opinion

"that the fundamental attitude in Portugal had been more progressive than that of the other Europeans."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 30 August 1963)

He goes on to say:

"I believe it can be stated today that the Portuguese were the first to have found the only possible solution to the relations between the races in Africa."

(Ibid.)

Dr. Jaeger would therefore like to see the practices of Portuguese colonialism extended to the whole of Africa. The Portuguese "solution", that is forced labour, illiteracy, napalm bombs and machine guns, is "the only possibility for Africa's future" (ibid.).

The conclusion of this prominent representative of the West German Federal Republic is by no means surprising if it is borne in mind that he shares the conception of the Portuguese colonialist dictator Salazar, that "within one or two decades the so-called (!) sovereign Africa will sink in chaos because these countries are not in a position to govern themselves", and calls this conception an "interesting component in considering the African problems" (ibid.). By approving and even glorifying Portuguese colonial rule in Africa Dr. Jaeger also derives practical conclusions for the Federal Republic's relations with Salazar's colonialist policies. He says:

"I consider it not only a moral but also a political principle to be loyal to one's friends. In the case of Portugal this has special reasons . . ."

(Ibid.)

Dr. Jaeger is no unique case. His conceptions are characteristic of the spirit which determines the relations between the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany and the fascist regime of dictator Salazar.

A Friendship and Its Background

Ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their followers in West Berlin are doing everything in their power to protect the Portuguese colonialists from the storm of world protests and to organize support for their crimes. Under the suggestive headline "Don't shoot at Salazar" the influential West German Frankfurter Allgemeine wrote on 8 January 1962:

"Portugal's friends and allies can only hope that no one will shoot out of disgust at Salazar or what he represents in the good sense."

It is phrased even more clearly in another place:

"Portugal is fighting for Europe overseas, for its freedom and its world authority. The Germans should support Salazar in every possible way. Portugal has always considered Europe as a support. Today Lusitania needs Europe's protection and aid . . . It is a task of Western Europe not to fail Portugal in this decisive hour."

(Der Stahlhelm, Munich-Lochhausen, No 2, 1962)

These, by the way, are the same arguments that Salazar himself uses, thus proving from experience the solidarity extended by the ruling circles in the Federal Republic towards their Portuguese accomplices. Salazar declared on 15 November 1963 in an interview with the Deutsche National- und Soldatenzeitung, Munich, organ of the neo-fascist organizations in the Federal Republic:

"He who stabs Portugal in the back betrays Europe, betrays our right to life. Only Germany, France and Spain make an exception. There we find full understanding and support."

No less a person than Federal Chancellor Ludwig Erhard has for years been trying to win this "understanding" and this "support". In June 1961 he declared before the West German parliament that Portugal was "one of the most trustworthy countries". Erhard explicitly rejected a deputy's request to limit his judgment at least to "economically trustworthy" (Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 June 1961).

For years the Federal Republic and Portugal have been maintaining close political cooperation. The frequent mutual visits of leading poli-

ticians of the two countries are an expression of this. The present Federal Chancellor Erhard paid Portugal an official visit in 1961 and in 1962. Reports about his meeting with dictator Salazar state: "Talks were conducted in the traditional friendly spirit . . ." (Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 17 May 1961). At a meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries the "possibilities for a further deepening and consolidation of friendly relations . . . in all spheres of vital interests to both countries . . .", were dealt with (Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 3 October 1959).

This was not the only meeting of the two foreign ministers. The then war minister Franz-Josef Strauss, and later his successor Kai Uwe von Hassel, visited Portugal several times. Bundestag Vice President Dr. Jaeger was received just as cordially by Salazar. Transport Minister Christoph Seeböhm and Minister of Agriculture Schwarz visited Portugal in 1963 and 1964 respectively. Adenauer, Erhard, von Hassel, Globke and other leading statesmen of the Federal Republic were awarded high Portuguese decorations by Salazar. Federal Chancellor Erhard and Hermann J. Abs, the biggest banker in the Federal Republic and close confidant of Erhard, were given honorary doctor's degrees by Portuguese universities.

This close political cooperation between the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and the Salazar regime has deep historic roots. They reach back to the period of nazi domination in Germany when Hitler and Salazar already considered and treated each other as allies and like-minded friends. Today as then the basis of cooperation is the deeply rooted opposition of the two regimes to any social progress in the world. According to DPA (Deutsche Presseagentur, officious West German news agency) Bundestag Vice-President Dr. Jaeger declared in this connection in Lourenco Marques on 10 September 1963:

"Portugal and Germany would over and above this have special reason for agreement – the joint struggle against communism."

By this the imperialists do not, as is well known, understand only aggressive actions against the socialist countries but also the policy of

suppression of the national liberation movement whose fighters they call "agents of the socialist countries". The most brutal fight against social progress and the right to national freedom and self-determination – that is the level on which the two regimes meet also in their opposition to the African liberation movement.

The link between the West German-Portuguese alliance is therefore subsequently also the aggressive military pact of NATO. It is characteristic that it was on Portugal's application that the Federal Republic was admitted to NATO. In the post-war years the Salazar regime made every possible effort to ensure for itself the Federal Republic's support in the future. When the nazi general and then highest-ranking officer in the West German Bundeswehr, Hans Speidel, concluded an agreement in Lisbon in 1956 on the return of capital belonging to German trusts confiscated in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies after the war it was celebrated in the West German press as "a symbol of the consolidation of (West) German-Portuguese friendly relations" (Der Kurier, West Berlin, 20 November 1956). The Kurier continues:

"In Lisbon great importance was evidently attached to stressing the fact that Dr. Salazar's Defence Minister Santos Costa had demanded as long ago as the 1952 pact conference the inclusion of the Federal Republic in the Atlantic organization without limitations or conditions. This demand has in the following years been repeated again and again by him and Foreign Minister Da Cunha . . . This . . . corresponds to the idea of Salazar's European integration policy with the heart of the old continent as represented by Germany which he also wishes to put on an equal footing politically with the big western democracies."

(Der Kurier, West Berlin, 20 November 1956)

Salazar knew very well why he was prepared to return the capital of the West German trusts so quickly and urged the quick inclusion of the Federal Republic in NATO. When the pillars of his colonial rule in Africa began to sway, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic and of West Berlin remunerated Salazar's obligingness. It is again Bundestag Vice-President Dr. Jaeger who gives evidence of this:

"We may also be grateful for the fact that the Germans in Portugal and its oversea territories are among the few Germans whose property was not touched after the war thanks to the integrity, the fair-mindedness of Dr. Salazar. I believe that the Portuguese can expect a response from us to this friendly sentiment."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 30 August 1963)

The West German remuneration to Salazar was not, of course, limited to assurances of "friendly sentiments". As far back as 1958 the then West German Foreign Minister von Brentano in Lisbon assured the Salazar regime of the protection of NATO for Portuguese colonial rule.

According to the official communiqué there was

"agreement concerning conceptions about the peaceful aims of this organization in the joint defence of the mutual ideas, of peace and the territorial integrity of member countries".

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 12 April 1958)

As is well-known Angola and Mozambique are not, according to Portuguese and West German conceptions, colonies, but integral parts of Portugal and are thus subordinated to the proclaimed principle of the territorial integrity of a NATO member-state. The ruling circles of the Federal Republic like those of Portugal do not consider the colonialists but the national liberation movement as a danger to peace in Angola and Mozambique.

Persistently the press in the Federal Republic which supports the government therefore demanded NATO's open employment in the colonial war against the Angolan liberation movement:

"No paragraph can be found in the treaty (NATO) stipulating that the members must work for the maintenance of the colonial possessions of other members. It is nevertheless a matter of course that the world-wide communist expansionism is to be thrust back not only in Europe."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 1 and 19 August 1962)

In this connection, too, one did not stop at statements and demands. Without much publicity ruling circles in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin began to have the colonialist function of the NATO pact become effective with the example of their cooperation with Portugal. They

- *intensified military cooperation with the Salazar regime,*
- *increased economic and financial support for Portugal,*
- *finally undertook direct political and military support actions for Portuguese colonial rule.*

Military Cooperation with the Salazar Regime

The first stage of open military cooperation of the Federal Republic with the Salazar regime began already at the end of the nineteen-fifties. It first concentrated on pressing for enforcing the speedy armament of the West German Bundeswehr with ammunition and equipment purchased in Portugal.

"For ten years the federal government has been using arms deals as a means of foreign policy. Shortly after the establishment of the Bundeswehr in 1955 already, the first stage of this program was brought into play. Since the Federal Republic did not then have an armaments industry, arms and implements had to be procured from abroad. The Bundeswehr purchased . . . ammunition in Portugal, Greece, and Turkey."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965, page 24)

This at the same time offered the Salazar regime the opportunity of expanding and making full use of its armaments capacities. Not only the militarist Bundeswehr, NATO's shock troops in Central Europe, were strengthened through these measures but also the Salazar regime which used the orders of the West German Bundeswehr amounting to millions of marks to prepare itself for colonial war in Africa without economic losses and burdens on its budget. The close relations between the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and the Salazar regime took on concrete forms.

The then war minister Franz-Josef Strauss visited Portugal at the beginning of January 1960. He inspected military establishments and army units in Portugal and, according to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, of 11 January 1960, negotiated on questions of armament technology and armaments deliveries. He concluded a supplementary agreement to the contract on Portuguese ammunition deliveries to the Federal Republic. *Die Welt*, Hamburg, of 18 January 1960, characterized the political and general importance of Strauss' visit as follows:

"The visit of Federal Defence Minister Strauss ended in Lisbon on Sunday in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The first and direct official meeting between decisive military circles of the two countries since the membership in NATO of Portugal and the Federal Republic has essentially contributed towards consolidating the relationship of confidence between Bonn and Lisbon and extended it beyond the military field."

The second stage of open West German-Portuguese cooperation in the military sphere was introduced by yet another visit of war minister Franz-Josef Strauss in Portugal in January 1962. Strauss and his staff which with General Panitzki and Colonel Becker included the same "experts" as in January 1960 this time negotiated on bases for stationing some 17,000 West German troops in Portugal. The activities of a West German military commission headed by (now) General Becker, which visited Portugal at the beginning of 1963, defined the projects in detail and finally led to a corresponding contract being signed between Defence Ministers von Hassel and Gomes de Araujo in June 1963. It provided that a jet aircraft base, which had been specially built for this purpose, several training grounds, reinforcement establishments and depots in the region of Beja (Southern Portugal), be made available to the West German Bundeswehr. The construction of the modernly-equipped air base was financed from NATO funds with 150 million escudos (100 escudos = 14.64 marks) (*Die Andere Zeitung*, Hamburg, 9 August 1962). The first contingent of West German air base staff, 500 officers and men under the command of a general, arrived in Alentejo shortly afterwards. Meanwhile another 1,500 dwellings, billets, work-

shops and big depots were built on West German order. (See in this connection the Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 October 1964, Wehrpolitische Information, Cologne, No. 43, 24 October 1963, Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 29 January 1964.) In addition a permanent "German Military Mission", headed by General Becker, was established in Lisbon (Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, London, 1/1965, page 255).

A climax in West German-Portuguese cooperation was finally von Hassel's visit to Portugal in May 1965 on the occasion of which Salazar awarded him the Great Cross of the Military Order of Christ.

The establishment of bases in Portugal results in considerable strategic gains for the aggressive policies of the military forces in the Federal Republic. Already on 11 January 1960 Die Welt headed its report on the Strauss visit with the statement: "Portugal's strategic importance increases." The stationing of Bundeswehr contingents in Portugal consolidates the Salazar regime's ties with German imperialism. In addition it has considerable importance from the point of view of home policy, for stabilizing the Salazar regime where the revolutionary movement against Salazar is most active and not least it has the task of protecting Salazar against the indignation of the masses of the people in his own country and of intimidating the opposition.

"Beja in particular is a neuralgic point. In April 1962 the garrison there mutinied and wanted to start an uprising against the dictatorship. The Portuguese minister of the armed forces was killed in an armed battle on this occasion. In Beja itself the citizens had actively supported the rebels."

(Die Andere Zeitung, Hamburg, 9 August 1962)

The West German NATO-army has thus become a decisive political factor inside Portugal. The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and West Berlin in this dangerous way safeguard the political foundations of the Salazar regime, maintain its power thus establishing the necessary prerequisites for colonial terror in Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique. Small wonder therefore that Salazar says enthusiastically in this connection:

"We particularly welcome, of course, the agreements with the Bundeswehr which are in the interests of all concerned."

(Deutsche National- und Soldatenzeitung, Munich, 15 November 1963)

Economic and Financial Aid for Lisbon

In the economic field too, the Salazar regime enjoys the support of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and in West Berlin. Through capital investments, state credits, technical aid, the supply of machines and equipment and the training of personnel West Germany strengthens the Portuguese economy thus enabling the Salazar regime from the economic point of view to wage the extremely costly colonial war in Africa. The 1963 annual report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) underlines that in 1962 about 6.1 thousand million escudos of the 12.6 thousand million escudo Portuguese budget were used for military purposes, and that also in 1963 half of the revenues were used to finance the colonial war. In 1960, that is, before military terror actions were started against the liberation movement in Africa, military expenditure amounted to only 3.2 thousand million escudos. The report therefore states:

"The considerable increase in current budget expenditure for military purposes or for the economic development of oversea provinces, however, threatens to lead to serious tension in the long run if national production does not increase at a relatively fast tempo."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 18 September 1963)

The West German version of the fact was less polite but more drastic and concrete:

"Portugal cannot . . . over a long period of time afford to spend such considerable sums for military purposes in Africa. From this the NATO partners, above all the USA, should draw concrete conclusions."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 27 October 1964)

The government of the West German Federal Republic and the West German banks and industrial trusts had drawn these conclusions a considerable time ago and had acted accordingly. They increased the economic penetration of Portugal. Both West German exports to Portugal and imports from there have increased steadily in the past few years.

**The Federal Republic's Foreign
Trade with Portugal**
– in million marks –

	1962	1963	1964
Exports	373	424	501
Imports	119	189	199

West Germany thereby became Portugal's most important foreign trade partner. In 1962, it accounted for 16.3 per cent of Portugal's imports. Britain, in comparison, accounted for 15 per cent, the USA for only 9.1 per cent (according to Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1964). About fifty per cent of all Portuguese imports of machines, vehicles and tools come from West Germany (Primeiro de Janeiro, 28 November 1964).

"The Federal Republic continues to head the list of countries exporting to Portugal above all in regard to industrial installations and vehicles but also as regards the total value of Portuguese imports."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 24 April 1963)

West German trusts equip Portuguese industry. They built the first Portuguese iron and steel works in Seixal near Lisbon. After the completion of the first stage of construction the works had an annual capacity of 250,000 tons of steel and is of great importance to the armaments industry. The management of the syndicate formed for the construction of the works and on which also the Rheinstahl trust, Düsseldorf, and the Carl Still Company, Recklinghausen, are represented, is in the hands of the DEMAG. The Hochtief-AG-Essen carried out the building work. One hundred and thirty Portuguese engineers, experts

and metallurgical specialists were trained for employment in this works by the Rheinstahl trust in West Germany. Over and above this the Rheinische Stahlwerke sent some 80 West German experts to manage production in Seixal. A 120-million-mark commercial credit granted by the syndicate of the "Siderurgia Nacional", the Portuguese state company, financed the supply of installations (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 18 August 1961, 28 August 1961, 6–7 March 1964).

The leading West German banks are also developing great activity in Portugal. The Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt-on-Main, the Dresdner Bank AG, Düsseldorf, and the Bayrische Vereinsbank, Munich, for instance, shared in taking over a 50-million-mark credit of the Banco de Fomento Nacional, the Portuguese state bank, floated by an international bank syndicate (Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 14 November 1963).

At the end of 1961 the West German federal government granted Portugal a long-term 150-million-mark credit after the Portuguese economics minister had discussed in Bonn "financial aid to overcome acute difficulties" which had begun as a result of military operations against the national liberation movement in Angola (see Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of 27 November 1961).

Most of these loans were used to extend the Lisbon, Porto, Faro and Funchal (Madeira) airports and for a project to intensify agricultural production in the Alentejo region (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 26 November 1962, 27 October 1964). This is the same region where the West German military bases had also been established. The project financed by West Germany has the same political function as the West German military bases. They are to destroy the hotbed of the revolutionary movement in Portugal and guarantee the political stability of the Salazar regime. Moreover, the West German credits enable the Portuguese government increasingly to use its own funds to finance the colonial war in Africa.

The "Permanent German Military Mission" as the directing centre of the Portuguese-West German conspiracy in the military field has its opposite number in the "Joint Commission for German-Portuguese Economic Cooperation" which activates the economic interlacing. The

commission was set up as long ago as the beginning of 1960. Besides the competent government representatives, leading officials of the trusts are also on the commission such as, from the West German side, representatives of the Commerzbank, the Deutsch-Überseeische Bank, the Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG, the Siemens trust and Ferrostahl AG (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 1 September 1960, Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 28 February 1961). According to the sources quoted, it is its task first and foremost to study and organize individual projects and capital investments of West German trusts in Portugal and its colonies.

The threads of the offensive of West German finance capital to Portugal and its colonies are held basically by only two leading West German tycoons:

- *Herman J. Abs, executive chairman of the Deutsche Bank AG, the most powerful banking trust in the Federal Republic, formerly Hitler's financier, Erhard's and Adenauer's confidant, chairman or member of boards of directors of numerous West German and international industrial undertakings, banks and financial organizations;*
- *Berthold Beitz, chief representative of the Friedrich Krupp KG, Essen, the biggest family trust in Europe. Before and during the two world wars the Krupp trust was the most important armaments supplier of German imperialism. Its directors were sentenced as war criminals but later set free again in West Germany.*

In addition to their companies and subsidiary companies they dominate the major part of West German capital investments in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies and the financial and trade relations with them. And by stating in Lisbon in November 1963, that

" . . . the Federal Republic had reason gratefully to recall the many occasions of Portugal having taken especially great interest in German affairs . . . "

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 6-7 March 1964)

Herr Herman J. Abs unconsciously confirms the that qessment of Portuguese liberation movement which declares in connection with the West German Federal Republic:

"West Germany is now, even more than the USA and Great Britain, the country from which Salazar is trying to get economic support for his barbarour policy in Portugal and the colonies. This support, as usual, is acquired in exchange for important concessions – which are placing Portugal more and more in the absurd situation of having to be a colony in order to keep on being a colonialist country."

(Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, London, April–May 1962 page 77)

The correctness of this assessment is also proved by the expansion of West German monopoly capital into the Portuguese colonies in Africa where it is the Krupp trust in particular which has established an invisible empire sharing in the exploitation of the African population.

Krupp's Invisible Empire in Angola

The West German press comments in great detail and very frankly on the role the increased economic support of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin for Salazar, and the West German monopolies' systematic expansion into the Portuguese colonies in Africa are playing in the maintenance of Portugal's colonial power.

"In a kind of last minute panic Portugal has in the past few months opened wide its hitherto almost hermetically closed doors to foreign investments. The reason for this changed course is . . . the knowledge that Portugal will inevitably lose the struggle now beginning for its colonial empire if it is not able in time to win powerful allies for itself in this struggle . . . In this dangerous situation Salazar has radically changed his economic policy. Without much noise, with a minimum of publicity even, he set out economically to internationalize to the greatest possible extent his overseas empire. It is in particular the Americans, the Germans and the Japanese who are called upon in connection with the industrial development in Portugal's underdeveloped African and Asian possessions."

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 24 March 1961)

The West German trusts did not hesitate to help Salazar, knowing full well that by doing so economic positions, raw material sources and colonial profits will be gained for themselves. Heading the list is the Krupp trust.

Referring to Angola the French newspaper *Combat* writes on 12 August 1964:

"Together with the federal government in Bonn the Krupp firm has invested 125 million dollars (500 million marks) in various undertakings in this colony."

Official West German statistics, however, conceal the real extent of West German capital investments and speak of some 1.5 to 2 million marks. Despite the careful measures to conceal the facts it is at least partially possible to judge the approximate extent of the West German expansion, particularly in Angola.

In Cassinga, about 400 kilometres from Sa da Bandeira in the South of Angola, the Companhia Mineira de Lobito, an international consortium, has begun to open up one of the best and richest iron ore deposits in Africa. On behalf of the Krupp trust, groups of mineralogists discovered these deposits. The Fried. Krupp KG, Essen, heads the international syndicate which also includes Belgian and French firms whereas the Americans who had originally shared in the project were displaced. The West German trust is represented by the Sociedade Comercial Luso-mundo-Angola. Under a medium-term 120-million-mark credit guaranteed by the federal government, Krupp supplies locomotives for ore trains, rails, ore loading installations, mining equipment, and machine tools. The trust is building a 120-kilometre-long railway line connecting the mine with the Mocamedes railway, a processing plant for iron and manganese ore, and railway repair shops. It shares in the construction of the Mocamedes harbour to guarantee ore transports. A contract was signed between the Portuguese government and the Fried. Krupp KG, Essen, on the whole project fixing supplies and performances at 190 million marks. Under a contract also already signed Krupp is to obtain most of the ore mined in Cassinga which he urgently needs for his Bochum and Rheinhausen steel mills. Even before mining is taken up in Cassinga Krupp has obtained several hundred thousand tons of

ore a year from Angola through the Cologne firm of Friedrich Zöllner, which chiefly operates in the Republic of South Africa (see DPA report of 16 December 1960, *Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 17 March 1964, North American Newspaper Alliance, Bonn, 23 June 1964).

Krupp pursues his expansions in Angola through his subsidiary firm in the Republic of South Africa, the Krupp South Africa Ltd. This is not, however, Krupp's only base. He has great influence and confidential agents among the 1,100 German big landowners who, besides the Portuguese, are the biggest group of whites in Angola and operate chiefly in the South Angola highlands where the Cassinga ore deposits are situated. Many of the arch-reactionary Junkers (big landowners) who were driven out of East Germany, the German Democratic Republic, under the democratic land reform, those in particular who are guilty of terrible crimes against the German and other peoples, are now playing their infamous role in Angola and some other parts of Africa and Latin America. They include notorious families such as von Krosigk, von Richthofen, and von Rochow, who have won ill fame in the history of German imperialism.

Among the German settlers the big landowner Kai von Ahlefeld is considered chief representative of the Krupp trust. He owns huge plantations covering some 11,000 hectares in the Nova Lisboa district and a number of processing factories. He is one of the country's coffee kings and a multimillionaire. In addition to seasonal workers he exploits more than 700 African regular workers on his plantations and in his works. On 17–18 October 1964, the *Westfälische Rundschau*, Dortmund, wrote about the part he plays:

"Ahlefeldt is greatly respected. The district governor receives him with open arms. He is an asset to the country's economy. A man who invested his capital in the country after the 1961 revolt thus proving his confidence in the Portuguese."

As the confidant of Krupp's chief representative Berthold Beitz he was to tour along with him the South African Republic. After that he was to inspect the Krupp trust's projects in Angola, as reported in *Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 26 October 1964.

As in Portugal itself the Krupp trust's influence in Angola is far greater than official West German statistics wish to admit. And it is growing steadily. The West German monopoly papers give a notion of it:

"Friedr. Krupp enjoys an almost legendary reputation, mainly founded on the Cassinga project, in Portugal and especially in Angola. It is moreover well known here that Krupp is striving for additional orders such as in connection with a small rolling mill for Angola. The rolling train will most probably come from Essen."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 17 March 1964)

The Fried. Krupp KG is the most influential West German trust which has struck roots in Angola but it is not the only one.

In Mocamedes, a port in the South of Angola, West German firms have built cold-storage plants which are run by the Socar Companhia das Carnes de Angola AG. This company, founded in 1959, is under the technical and economic management of a West German industrial group which holds most of the shares whereas the Portuguese government supplies one quarter of the capital. The group was granted a state concession for building up and developing stock-farming in Angola and its subsequent industrial processing (Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienste, 2 March 1959, Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 21 March 1964).

The Bermann-Opelana group, which includes the big plantation owner Georg von Opel and the Hamburg export firm of U. J. Jessen und Co., also enjoys considerable influence. It dominates housing construction in Luanda, sisal plantations and manganese ore mines. Their latest project is to open up a manganese ore deposit near Dondo in the Cassinga region (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 21 March 1964). The harbour of Luanda is being expanded by West German contractors. Also owned by West German firms is the Sociedade Luso-Alema Lda, Luanda, which has been operating since 1938, has an original capital of 1.5 million marks, owns sisal plantations and supplies the big Angolan plantations with West German machines and electrical products thus winning huge turnovers (Blick durch die Wirtschaft, Frankfurt, 24 April 1963).

It and many other West German trusts fear for their colonial profits should the Angolan liberation movement be victorious. They therefore support Salazar. The ruling circles in the Federal Republic therefore felt that it was not sufficient just to support to the colonial war against Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese-ruled Guinea ideologically and politically as well as by the strengthening of the economic capacities and the internal political stability of the Salazar regime, but that direct intervention was also necessary.

Arms and Mercenaries for Colonial Terror

When war minister Franz-Josef Strauss visited Portugal he not only inspected barracks, not only negotiated about bases, not only signed contracts about Portugal supplying ammunition to the Bundeswehr. As in the case of Israel he concluded secret agreements with Portugal on arms and equipment deliveries for the Portuguese colonial army. They were implemented.

Angolan freedom fighters captured West German weapons. A spokesman of the Liberation Movement of Angola proved in 1961 that West Germany had supplied 10,000 sub-machine guns to Portugal for special use in Angola. Bonn published a denial:

"The federal government rejected as untrue the Angolan rebels' allegation that the Federal Republic had supplied the Portuguese army with 10,000 sub-machine guns for use in Angola . . . In reply to an inquiry a Foreign Office spokesman declared that it was the permanent policy of the federal government to prevent arms supplies to areas of international tension."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine, 9 June 1961)

The above-mentioned note about its Africa policy which the federal government handed to different countries at the end of 1963, stated against better knowledge:

"Under another law valid in the Federal Republic of Germany special permission has to be granted by the federal government for the export of weapons and military equipment and for the shipment of such weapons and equipment in German vessels. Such permission is never

granted for the export of weapons and military equipment of any kind to South Africa, to Portuguese territories in Africa, and to all other tension areas."

(Neues Afrika, Bonn, 1/1964, page 32)

In view of the facts the denials display a reckless disregard of the truth.

When the extensive West German arms supplies to Israel were revealed challenging sharp protests from the Arab countries, the federal government decided at the beginning of 1965 "not to supply any more weapons to tension areas in future". The "valid law" and the "permanent policy" had not, at least in the past, on principle prevented the federal government from supplying arms to "areas of tension".

At the end of 1965 the Dutch government prohibited Rotterdam from being used as transshipment harbour for West German armament supplies to Portugal (Neues Deutschland, 7 December 1963).

The federal government shares the Portuguese doctrine about the Portuguese colonies being an integral part of Portugal. It never denied armament deliveries to Portugal within the framework of NATO.

The Portuguese government has twice asked Israel directly for the supply of sub-machine guns (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 6/1962, page 21).

The sub-machine guns supplied by West Germany to Portugal for use in Angola were of Israeli origin. Israel had sold them to the Federal Republic. They are Uzi type guns especially fitted with metal butts instead of the customary wooden butts for the Federal Republic. The sub-machine guns found in Angola were trade-marked "MP Uzi" in Latin not Hebrew letters, they have metal butts and show the West German federal eagle, the insignia of the Federal Republic (*ibid.*).

The "firearms law" of 7 June 1939 which is valid in West Germany provides that all small arms must be officially tested by a government testing establishment. The testing stamp shows the federal eagle.

The sub-machine guns were not the only war material with which the Federal Republic equipped the Portuguese colonial army in Angola. Nor was Angola the only area of operations. The Federal Republic's denials increased.

When the Indian army liberated Goa at the end of 1961, the federal government intervened in New Delhi in favour of its Portuguese NATO ally (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 8 January 1962). It fully corresponded to its political attitude to have the Portuguese army in Goa equipped with vehicles and machine guns. The Times of India reported on 21 December 1961 that war material of West German origin had been captured by Indian troops. Bonn issued a denial. A spokesman of the West German Defence Ministry called the report "complete nonsense" and declared that the Federal Republic never exported either jeeps or machine guns (DPA news item of 21 December 1961). At the same time, in December 1961, the West German government concluded a military aid agreement with the Republic of Sudan. Among other things it envisaged the supply of machine guns and military vehicles (Leinen los, periodical of the West German Naval Association e. V., Munich, 10/1964, page 328).

The Federal Republic also supplied lorries and other equipment for use in Angola (New Statesman, 19 October 1962). In February 1962, the Dornier Works GmbH Friedrichshafen, supplied 16 Do 27 military aircraft to Portugal (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 6/1962). Jeune Afrique of 9 February 1962 referred to direct information from the Dornier Works when drawing attention to the use of these aircraft in Angola. In May 1962 the aircraft and the necessary technical personnel arrived in Angola.

They were also used in action. The bombs they dropped on Angolan villages also originated from West Germany as the spokesman of the Liberation Movement of Angola proved by means of bomb splinters before the UN Trusteeship Commission on 23 November 1963 (Deutsche Volkszeitung, Düsseldorf, 6 December 1963).

At the beginning of 1965 the federal government again sold 60 military aircraft to Portugal. They were F 86 jet fighters which the Federal Republic had acquired from Canada. Since the aircraft were to be used in Angola, the Canadian government entered a protest against the sale referring to the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

This is what the federal government had to say in this connection:

"The opinion prevails in Bonn that there could be no objections to the sale of the aircraft since Portugal, like the Federal Republic and Canada, is a member state of NATO."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 17 February 1965)

And Portugal:

"From the Portuguese Foreign Ministry came the information that Angola was not a colony but part of Portugal. The government could not, therefore, accept regulations restricting the use of the jet fighters."

(Der Kurier, West Berlin, 18 February 1965)

From experience up to now no one will be surprised to see the jet fighters in the near future in Angola hunting down women, children and old people.

On 28 October 1963 the information bulletin of the Cairo office of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) published the sensational fact that the West German Bundeswehr had now also sent officers to train Portuguese troops in Angola. Soon afterwards, in April 1964, the spokesman of the Liberation Movement of Angola announced that since September 1963 troop contingents of the Bundeswehr had also been in Angola for the protection of West German capital investments.

"Whereas at the beginning only West German arms were supplied, in September of last year for the first time West German officers arrived for the training of troops in Angola, and they will be followed by units with special instructions. The Foreign Ministry of the government-in-exile is in the possession of information to the effect that Bundeswehr soldiers are guarding the iron, copper, manganese and diamond mines in the interior of the country. Their arrival was kept strictly secret."

(Neues Deutschland, 5 April 1964)

West Germany's participation in the colonial war has led to the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) addressing a memorandum to the meeting of the council of ministers of the Organi-

zation of African Unity (OAU) in which it accuses West Germany of aiding the Portuguese colonial regime. The document states:

"Portugal has signed several agreements enabling it to maintain West German troops in its territory, to use West German hospitals for its soldiers wounded in the war in Angola and Portuguese Guinea, to build depots for war materials, to buy some armament factories, and to strengthen the aggressive bloc whose partners in addition to Portugal are the white minorities in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia."

(ADN, 5 March 1965)

These facts alone prove that the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany ignore the will of the African people, the protests of progressive mankind and the resolutions of the United Nations, and defend the colonial rule of the Salazar regime. They are the main pillars and the chief allies of that criminal regime. They also ignore the will of the German people which has been expressed in sharp protests against the Portuguese colonial terror in Africa by the government of the German Democratic Republic and the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany.

Allied with the South African Racialists

Of even greater bearing than the support of the colonialism of the Salazar regime is the partnership of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and their followers in West Berlin with the racist Verwoerd regime in South Africa. This partnership is a neo-colonialist alliance against the national liberation movement and the newly independent states in Africa. It serves to maintain the apartheid regime in South Africa and to consolidate the imperialist positions in the rest of the continent. Its immediate aim is to encourage the implementation of those plans of Verwoerd and other colonialists on the basis of which a big racist empire is to be established in the southern part of Africa in the form of a common market and a military pact (South

Africa Treaty Organization), through the union of South Africa and South-West Africa with the British Protectorates, the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia and that part of the Congo ruled by Tshombe.

German imperialism, with its lust for expansion has for decades been linked by common interests, ideologies and activities with the Boer nationalists who have been in power in South Africa since the end of the war. As is well known South-West Africa, now annexed by South Africa, was a German colony before the First World War. During the fascist rule in Germany the Boer nationalist organizations were active as the fifth column of Hitler fascism; they blended the traditional Boer ideology and the false racist doctrine into the apartheid ideology.

This traditional partnership has consolidated considerably since the taking over of power by the fascist National Party of South Africa. The West German politicians and statesmen and the West German press close to the government openly proclaim their sympathy with the racist system in South Africa. They consider it a bulwark against the national liberation movements, a reliable security for their considerable economic interests in South Africa, a support in the struggle against the world socialist system and for the implementation of their aggressive plans in Europe. For the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and West Berlin the South African racialists are allies and "friends";

Sympathy for Apartheid

Already in 1954 West German Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer said about the relations of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic with the South African racists:

"We hope very much that we shall jointly succeed . . . in strengthening . . . the existing bonds of sincere friendship."

(*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 12 January 1954*)

Only a few years later the present Federal Chancellor, Professor Ludwig Erhard, confessed in connection with a tour through South Africa:

"A similar spirit prevails in (West) Germany and South Africa."
(Afrika-Post, Pretoria, December 1956, page 6)

Even the highest representative of the West German Federal Republic, Federal President Dr. Heinrich Lübke, identified himself unequivocally with the racist terror in South Africa. At a press conference in South Africa in March 1959 he made the by now "famed" confession:

"The problems (of the natives) are in good hands with the government – its experience could be made use of advantageously throughout the (African) continent."

(Informationen aus Südafrika, published by the South African Embassy, Cologne, April 1959; see also SPD Pressedienst, Bonn, 30 April 1959)

As long ago as 1957 the then ambassador of the Federal Republic to South Africa, Gustav Strohm, formerly head of the Africa department in the nazi foreign ministry, declared:

"The foreign policy interests of the two countries run parallel and support each other. South Africa is firmly rooted in the western camp and opposes communism as unconditionally and actively as we do."
(Afrika – heute, Jahrbuch der (West) Deutschen Afrikagesellschaft, Cologne, 1957, page 52)

His successor as West German ambassador to South Africa, Hans-Ullrich von Granow, wrote in 1960 that the German imperialists

"had friends at the southernmost tip of the African continent who have remained faithful to us in times of war and difficulties and who are proving their sympathies with our national aspirations (read – the revanchist policy of aggression of the Federal Republic – the authors) again today . . ."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 19 May 1960)

In a radio lecture a year later he spoke of the

"clandestine agreement of the German people with the policy of the South African Union."

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 29 March 1961)

There cannot, of course, be talk of the "German people" for in contradiction to the ruling circles in the Federal Republic the government of the German Democratic Republic and the citizens of both parts of Germany and of West Berlin have on many occasions protested against the racial terror in South Africa and its support by Bonn.

When West German trade unions called for a boycott of South African goods in the Federal Republic the Foreign Ministry in Bonn demonstratively expressed regret and apologized to the South African government. The apology stressed that the

"boycott was directed against a friendly country which was all the more regrettable as the South African government had shown particular understanding for the problems of reunification (meaning the annexation of the GDR – the authors)."

(SPD Pressedienst, Bonn, 18 March 1960)

The assurances of understanding between Bonn and Pretoria are mutual. In 1962 Minister of Transport Christoph Seeböhm of the Federal Republic expressed his "special understanding for the complicated South African problems". The "occasionally" voiced attacks against the regime there had "nothing to do with good or bad because it was only a question of who was right in the end" (Afrika-Post, Pretoria, 3 1962).

The West German monopoly press is even more outspoken in its sympathy with the criminal Verwoerd regime:

"Nowhere else have the coloureds had it so good as in South Africa."
(Die Welt, Hamburg, 24 June 1964)

And, according to the Industriekurier, Düsseldorf of 29 and 30 March 1964, it is in fact true

"that the 'police state' of South Africa exists only in the biased and malevolent fantasies of some race theorists."

This political, moral and propaganda support for the South African racial terror is coupled with the economic aid of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and in West Berlin for the Verwoerd regime.

Economic Support for Verwoerd

It is well-known throughout the world that the Verwoerd regime can only retain power thanks to the political and economic support of the imperialist powers.

The United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and other international bodies have passed resolutions calling upon all countries in the world to join in an all-round boycott of the South African apartheid regime. "The Federal Republic will not participate in any boycotts" – the American Associated Press reported supplementary to a list of international actions against the apartheid regime which the UN secretary general had drawn up (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 28 November 1963).

The head of the South African press agency recently asked responsible West German government representatives and leading establishments about their future attitude toward South Africa. The bulletin of the South African Department of Information summarized the results of this inquiry as follows:

"Bonn confirms: No boycott of South Africa . . . The Bonn government has also decided to support in the future the unobstructed flow of foreign trade . . . (West) German shipping with South Africa would be maintained and improved so as to be able to satisfy the growing demand of the expanding South African economy."

The report pays special tribute to the part played by the present West German Chancellor Professor Ludwig Erhard in connection with consolidating the economic ties between West Germany and South Africa:

"The favourable development (of relations) between West Germany and South Africa is, according to Bonn government representatives, one of the most encouraging accomplishments of Dr. Erhard's policy during his 14 years of office as economics minister in several Adenauer governments prior to his designation as chancellor."

(South African Digest, Pretoria, 19 December 1963)

Along with the other imperialist powers the Federal Republic made it possible for the Verwoerd regime to evade the effects of the boycott.

It granted South Africa new markets and increased its delivery of goods. With credits and investments it consolidated the economic strength of the racist system. Its imports from South Africa increased from 359 million marks in 1961 to 465 million marks in 1963. West Germany's share in South African exports subsequently doubled in the same period. This tendency also continued in 1964. West German imports reached a volume of 506 million marks. Whereas the German Democratic Republic practises solidarity with the African peoples and long ago discontinued all trade with South Africa, West German-South African trade reached record levels in 1964. West German exports rose from 551 million marks in 1961 to 906 million marks in 1964. More than 10 per cent of South Africa's imports come from West Germany.

These trade relations also result in strong financial support by West German monopoly capital and the Erhard government for the Verwoerd regime. The Federal Republic's big export surplus, in 1964 alone almost 400 million marks, is as a rule financed by commercial credits over a period of up to ten years which are partly supported by the federal government. Since the credited supplies are in many cases machines and industrial equipment the trade credits are frequently transferred into capital investments particularly in establishments of Boer capital.

**West German Foreign Trade
with South Africa
in Millions of Marks**

Year	Imports	Exports	Balance
1959	324.8	622.6	297.8
1960	342.2	647.5	305.3
1961	359.6	551.8	192.2
1962	413.4	576.8	163.4
1963	465.1	732.6	267.5
1964	506.3	906.1	399.8

Source: Federal Statistical Bureau, Wiesbaden, The Foreign Trade of the Federal Republic of Germany, part I, current.

Over and above this the leading West German trusts chiefly support with their supplies the government enterprises in South Africa and the fascist Boer private capital, the economic basis of the apartheid regime. Siemens and DEMAG have a decisive part in equipping the ISCOR steel works, the Schloemann-AG Düsseldorf is building a complete wire rolling mill for ISCOR, the Ruhrchemie-AG had a great share in equipping the chemical works of FOSCOR, the SASOL works for carbon liquefaction is 85 per cent equipped with West German machines and produces under West German licenses, the AEG electrical trust is among the main suppliers to the electrification program of the South African State Railways.

The amount of direct West German investments in South Africa is estimated at more than 300 million marks. Their real value is most carefully concealed and is no doubt considerably higher. All leading trusts have subsidiary companies or establishments in South Africa. In 1958 already, Herr Abs' Deutsche Bank granted South Africa a 50-million-mark participation credit. In 1962 the Verwoerd government decreed the restitution of confiscated pre-war capital of German trusts in the interests of intensifying West German-South African financial relations. This led to a far-reaching re-establishment of the old capital relations. The Otavi Mining Company, a Deutsche Bank subsidiary, Siemens, Krupp, Henschel, the AEG, and the IG-Farben successor profited from this in particular. They re-paid the obligingness with a 40-million-mark credit of the Deutsche Bank to the government of South Africa, and in addition with declarations of sympathy for the Verwoerd policy. In 1963, even the West German state bank for development aid, the Bank for Reconstruction, granted South Africa a 108-million-mark credit.

Military-Atomic Conspiracy between Bonn and Pretoria

More important than the economic support or, for instance, the cultural agreement signed on 4 December 1963, between the Federal Republic and South Africa and, moreover, most dangerous, is the military-atomic conspiracy between the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany and of West Berlin and the Verwoerd regime.

This plot was revealed by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the GDR in September 1964 in a detailed "Memorandum on cooperation between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa in the military and atomic fields". We therefore refrain from repeating the facts in detail here and shall restrict ourselves to recalling some important facts which were proved in the memorandum mentioned.

- 1) The West German Federal Republic and the racialist Verwoerd regime in the Republic of South Africa are cooperating closely in making South Africa a military centre capable of bringing pressure to bear upon, and militarily threatening, large and decisive areas of Africa with the help of modern highly mobile fighting units and modern weapons.
- 2) The West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa are cooperating to prepare the production in South Africa of atomic bombs, chemical weapons, and guided missiles, so that both states may have the unlimited and unsupervised use of these weapons. The pilot plant for the experimental production of fissionable uranium and nuclear fuel is already working. The first atom reactor will soon be ready. Preparations have been made for large-scale production, camouflaged as a nuclear-power program.
- 3) The leading members of the Government of the Republic of South Africa are old collaborators with the German imperialists and colonialists; they were trusted followers of Hitler. The West German government has resumed the old links which German imperialism had with South Africa, and is carefully extending them.

Modern military organizational forms, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and missiles in the hands of the West German revenge-seekers and South African racialists are a grave danger to world peace; to the independence of the peoples and their right of self-determination, particularly in Africa; and to the national liberation movement in those countries in Africa still under colonial oppression.

In this connection we should once again like to draw attention to the following facts:

- The contractual basis for the military cooperation between the Federal Republic of West Germany and the Republic of South Africa is a secret agreement concluded in Bonn in July 1961.
- With the implementation in South Africa of the secret agreements the West German war ministry has authorized an Africa expert of the general staff of the former Hitler Wehrmacht, Major General Fr. W. von Mellenthin, who already lives in Johannesburg in South Africa and who has built up a contact organization in the form of the "Trek Airways" air company managed by him, and has done important preparatory work.
- The officially published military budget of the Republic of South Africa increased by more than four times from 1961 to 1964, and in regard to some important positions such as ammunition, tanks and especially long-range aircraft and supersonic fighters even by more than 10 times.
- The South African army has been developed into a most modern military organization in accordance with Mellenthin's theories. The "permanent striking force in existence" demanded by Mellenthin has been put into practice in the form of "mobile air transportable Permanent Force combatant units" which, together with their special training establishments, are directly subordinated to the high command of the army.
- In autumn of 1963 the most influential man in the Federal Republic of West Germany, the banker Hermann Josef Abs, had talks in South Africa "with various government authorities" about "certain plans in South Africa". They dealt with measures necessary in connection with the large-scale production of nuclear material for atomic bombs. Main negotiating partner was the South African Economics Minister Dr. N. Diederichs, one of the oldest and most reliable liaison men of German monopoly capital and the German fascists. From 1958 to 1964 Diederichs was head of the Atomic Energy Board of the Republic of South Africa which is permeated with people in the confidence of West German finance capital. It maintains close contacts with Degussa, the West German atomic

trust controlled by Herr Abs and with the Atomic Commission of the Federal Republic, in which Herr Abs also has decisive influence. The latter commission also made available to South Africa the license for the uranium ore separation process developed by the experimental establishment in Ellweiler in West Germany. This helped considerably in making South Africa able to produce atomic bombs today. Despite the favourable prerequisites and despite the assistance of West Germany it is a great strain on the South African economy to take up the large-scale production of atomic bombs and nuclear fuels which can no longer be kept secret in the same way as formerly. On Herr Abs' recommendation it was therefore decided, partly in the interests of facilitating the financing of the large-scale production of nuclear material, to start a comprehensive program of the ESCOM state power trust for the production of atomic power.

- In 1963 the South African Defence Council set up an expert group of scientists which is working on the development of virulent poison gases such as tabun, soman and sarin. These lethal gases were developed in Germany towards the end of the war but it had not been possible then to use them. A number of former poison gas specialists of the IG-Farben trust are cooperating in this expert group, men who had already taken part in poison gas research in Hitler Germany and fled to South Africa because they were afraid to be called to account for the production of poison gas which the nazis had used the extermination of millions of people for racial reasons. Their group is headed by a certain Günther Pruss, who under Hitler was one of the leading staff of the gas research department of the German Wehrmacht. Production experience and licenses of the former IG-Farben trust were made available to the expert group by Dr. Felix Prentzel, member of the board of directors of the IG-Farben Industry i. L., director-general of the Degussa atomic trust and member of the board of directors of the Otavi Mining and Railway Company, the biggest West German colonial company. Dr. Prentzel was ministerial director in Erhard's Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs.

- West German specialists of establishments controlled by Abs such as the firm of L. Bölkow, Development KG in Munich, and the Waffen- and Luftrüstungs-AG Hamburg, also had a decisive part in preparing the long-range rocket production in South Africa. Siemens and Telefunken also sent technicians and experts to the Institute for Missile Research near Pretoria. In the spring of 1964 the West German Institute for Aeronomics, Lindau am Harz, built a rocket-observation and ionosphere station with 120-metre-high antennas in the town of Tsumeb in South-West Africa for long-range missile research work. The institute cooperates closely with the West German war ministry. Its experiments are financed directly from that ministry's budget.
- Soon after the plans for nuclear material, poison gas and rockets had begun to materialize a Ministry of Planning was established uniting some planning and coordinating authorities formerly under Verwoerd's and Diederichs' control. Jan Friedrich Wilhelm Haak, up till then Diederichs' deputy in the Economics Ministry, was named Minister of Planning. Another fanatical follower of the racial theories and close friend of the West German imperialists has thus been entrusted with a key position in South African atomic bomb, poison gas and missile production.

Tremendous dangers to the African population of South Africa and the other African countries arise from these activities of Bonn in South Africa. With this conspiracy Bonn proves to be a vehement and unscrupulous enemy of the national movement of the peoples for freedom and independence.

II. Bonn Supports Aggression and Terrorist Measures against the National Liberation Movement

The hostile attitude of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany against the aspirations for national independence of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America is not only proved by their support of the still existing colonial regime. Bonn is taking just as active a part in all terrorist measures of neo-colonialism against the national liberation movement. Just as it cooperated directly and indirectly in the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956 and in the intervention of the USA and Britain in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958, just as it made available funds, weapons and mercenaries for the bloody colonial war of French imperialism against the heroic Algerian people from 1954 to 1962, Bonn supported and still supports the sanguinary attacks on the Vietnamese, the Congolese, Cypriot and the Dominican peoples. Wherever world imperialism establishes bases and bulwarks against the national liberation movement Bonn can be found in the front line. It is developing Israel into an imperialist bridge-head in the Near East, preparing it for a renewed attack against the Arab countries and makes use of it as "relay station" for extending imperialist influence on the African continent. It extends economic and political assistance to Malaysia which serves as an imperialist base for aggression against the Republic of Indonesia.

It gives support to such reactionary, pro-imperialist, anti-national regimes as that of Pak Chung Hi in South Korea, Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, and the SEATO state of Thailand, and directly consolidates their military positions in the interests of the joint struggle against social progress.

In all these cases the close alliance between the ruling circles in the West German Federal Republic and US imperialism has been proved. Bonn sold the West German people's national right of self-determination to the USA in exchange for American support in the re-establishment of the power of West German finance capital. Now, by sharing in the neo-

colonialist adventures of the USA throughout the world, Bonn is paying yet another price for American support for German imperialism's aggressive policy in Europe which is directed against the relaxation of tension. The alliance with the USA is thereby one of Bonn's most important instruments for consolidating and expanding its own imperialist positions in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Aid for US Aggression in Vietnam

The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany and in West Berlin have for years been supporting without reservation the terrorist regime in South Vietnam and the war of the US imperialists and their South Vietnamese puppets against the South Vietnamese population, economically, politically and militarily. Bonn openly welcomes the American bombing attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which are carried out in contradiction to international law. Along with the USA West Germany is thus the only NATO power that has especially engaged itself in this at present most dangerous hotbed of tension in the world created by the US imperialists. The Bonn government's comprehensive political, moral, economic, financial and military assistance for the American aggression in South Vietnam is characterized by the following facts:

- 1) Bonn justifies the bloody war of suppression waged against the South Vietnamese people by the American and South Vietnamese military, their poison gas war and "scorched-earth and murdering shock troop tactics". They maintain cynically that the only chance lies in these policies.
- 2) According to American information West Germany heads the list of all other imperialist countries in regard to its measures to support the dirty US war against the South Vietnamese population.
- 3) Concerning financial aid the West German government has so far granted the reactionary South Vietnamese regime over 100 million marks and promised additional funds.

- 4) The Federal Republic of West Germany has already sent military and para-military material and extensive technical aid to South Vietnam such as, according to the Frankfurter Rundschau of 27 February 1965, 25 military hospital ambulances in February 1965.
- 5) The Erhard government has given financial support to the establishment of so-called strategic villages which are playing an important role in the war conception of the American aggressors..
- 6) Talks have repeatedly been conducted about additional direct military participation of the Federal Republic in the US war of aggression. For instance between war ministers McNamara and von Hassel in May 1964, in the course of which the West German partners expressed their "readiness" and "open-mindedness" in connection with the possibility of taking upon themselves relevant "additional NATO commitments". West German Special Minister Krone, chairman of the "Defence Council" of the Federal Republic, negotiated on increased West German participation in the war in South Vietnam in the USA in March 1965. At the same time the army inspector of the Bundeswehr, General de Maizière, inspected the US "Special Forces" in Fort Bragg, USA, where West German Bundeswehr rangers are being trained for action in the tropics.

The following facts prove these points:

Successful Mission of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge

In August 1964 Henry Cabot Lodge visited Europe as special envoy of President Johnson. Its continuous defeats in South-East Asia caused the USA to involve its NATO allies increasingly in the war it was conducting in South Vietnam. It is characteristic that Lodge's mission was especially successful in West Germany. He had discussions with Federal Chancellor Professor Erhard, Christian Social Union Chairman Franz-Josef Strauss and State Secretaries Westrick and Lahr. The West German newspaper Die Welt commented:

"He (Lodge – the authors) explicitly thanked the federal government for the aid it has already given South Vietnam. With what it has done

the Federal Republic is the leading nation among those granting aid . . ."

(*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 26 August 1964)

Already before Lodge's visit the West German government decided to increase the financial aid:

"On 19 August 1964 a loan agreement on 15 million marks was signed by the Bank of Reconstruction of Frankfurt-on-Main and the Vietnamese ambassador in Bonn, Nguyen Qui Anh. This is to implement a government agreement concluded between the federal government and the government of the Republic of Vietnam in November 1963 providing credits for the import of vital goods. Over the past three years the federal government has allocated a total of some 95 million marks of development aid along with extensive technical aid for the Republic of Vietnam."

(*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 25 August 1964)

Disguised Arms Aid

The West German press itself admits that part of the "development aid" given to the Saigon regime came from the military budget of the war ministry.

"It has been confirmed in Bonn that there is also a partial amount from budget chapter 1402, title 964 of the Defence Ministry included in this amount (development aid for South Vietnam) from which the military training aid granted by the Federal Republic is covered . . ."

(*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 12 May 1964)

As early as 1961 the federal government granted a loan of 50 million marks which was declared to serve the "construction of a Vietnamese industry". In reality, however, this credit was intended primarily for the armaments industry. West German trusts, among others, built a factory for the production of chemical warfare agents, that is poison gas, in South Vietnam. The government of the Federal Republic granted 15 million marks to finance the building of so-called strategic villages,

similar to concentration camps, into which the rural population driven from house and land were forced. In addition, in July 1963 foreign observers reported that South Vietnamese government troops were being trained in the use of West German flame-throwers. The leading West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* commented on this:

"The federal government grants military aid to the government of South Vietnam. The Roman Catholic President Ngo Dinh Diem received 15 million marks from West Germany with which the building of 'strategic villages' ... is to be financed. South Vietnamese troops are being trained in the use of flame-throwers from the Federal Republic."

(*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 24 July 1963, No. 30)

As early as 1964 the West German imperialists reinforced their commitments in South Vietnam on the pretext of the "indivisibility" of the "defence of the free world". They did and are doing that with the intention of committing the USA at the same time to a future military engagement in realizing the "forward strategy" in Europe, i. e., in implementing Bonn's revanchist plans of conquest towards the GDR and the countries of Eastern Europe.

This follows from the communiqué on the negotiations between war minister McNamara and West German war minister Kai Uwe von Hassel. In this case, as in many other cases, they apply the old imperialist trick of calling the national liberation movement a "communist threat":

"The ministers exchanged views on the defence policy of the free world. In doing so Secretary of Defence McNamara expressed America's hope of finding the support of the other NATO partners for its policy directed against the communist threat in other parts of the world, for instance in South Vietnam. The two ministers agreed that the defence of the free world was indivisible and that their security must be preserved wherever it is endangered."

(*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 12 May 1964)

The direct employment of Bundeswehr units in America's dirty war against the South Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and independence is envisaged. West German State Secretary von Hase con-

firmed the Bonn government's "open-mindedness and preparedness" to comply with the American demands. This becomes clear from a talk von Hase had with journalists in Bonn. Von Hase gave an evasive answer to the direct question of "whether the federal government's 'preparedness and open-mindedness', as he called it, means that West German soldiers will fight in Vietnam in the future." Von Hase said:

"If one is to take part in such an affair, it goes without saying that one is also informed about the partner's intentions."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 12 May 1964)

When repeatedly asked whether he could preclude that West German soldiers could be engaged in Vietnam in the future von Hase referred to the discussion on the possible commitment of Bundeswehr troops on Cyprus. He said:

"This question cannot be answered now for the whole matter has still to be settled."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 12 May 1964)

The Bonn government does not conceal its sympathies for the USA's war and for the war of the reactionary Saigon clique against the national liberation movement of South Vietnam which they declare to be a "communist threat" and to which they deny every right to struggle for freedom and independence, misusing the terms "right of self-determination and freedom". In June 1964, for example, Federal Chancellor Professor Ludwig Erhard assured the ruling Saigon clique of his "sympathy":

"On 18 June 1964 the federal chancellor received South Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Qui Anh for his first visit. In the course of the short exchange of views the federal chancellor said that the federal government and the German people are following Vietnam's heroic struggle for the preservation of its freedom against the communist threat with great sympathy and that it hopes that General Khanh may succeed in preserving Vietnam's freedom, which is in the interests of South-East Asia and the free world."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 19 June 1964)

Chemical Warfare as a "Humanitarian Act"

Bonn propagates inhumanity and advocates the mass murder of the South Vietnamese people:

"The Americans are defoliating the jungle with chemical agents . . . They are flying air attacks and making use of the most inhuman means of guerilla warfare – the tactics of the scorched earth and murdering raiding patrols. However cruel it may sound, the only chance lies in these methods."

(Bonner Rundschau, Bonn, 6 August 1964)

West Germany is the only country which, along with the USA, not only openly sanctions the use of poison gas in Vietnam but glorifies it as a humanitarian act. An article under the headline: "Gas is one of the most humane weapons of the war", states:

"The general outcry against the use of gas in Vietnam is one of the most curious instances of the fact that emotions are stronger than reason, for gas is one of the most humane weapons ever used in war. The poison gas used in the First World War was more humane than the various grenades and bullets for most men prefer a limited period of pain to the greater probability of death . . ."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 31 March 1965)

In another place the inhuman use of poison gas is at the same time propagated, played down, glorified and – as the height of cynicism – connected with an oath of faithfulness in the solidarity of the USA with its allies:

"Of course the United States also has a claim to the solidarity of its allies in South-East Asia . . . Seen from a matter-of-fact point of view the USA is undoubtedly right in considering tear gas more humane than lethal bullets . . ."

(Der Kurier, West Berlin, 25 March 1965)

The hatred of West German politicians for the national liberation movement even goes so far that they are no longer content with the justification of these horrible forms of warfare. They travel across the

USA as itinerant orators and encourage America to intensify and extend the war with poison gas in Vietnam:

"While worried politicians and citizens throughout the world hope for an understanding by the American leadership and demonstratively demand 'negotiations instead of gas' in front of embassies and consulates two federal German politicians regard it as their task to encourage the cold warriors of the USA. Freiherr von und zu Guttenberg, foreign policy expert of the Christian Social Union, and Wenzel Jaksch (SPD) declared to journalists in Chicago: Most Germans sympathize with the American Vietnam policy . . ."

(Deutsche Volkszeitung, Düsseldorf, 31 March 1965)

It is of special significance in this connection that West German and West Berlin politicians want to use the cruel American colonial campaign against the Vietnamese people for their own dangerous policy and therefore they would like to win the USA for the following political formula: If we (the aggressive West German circles) support the USA in its "bridge-head" in South-East Asia, we expect from America a still stronger commitment to our "bridge-head" which is directed against the German Democratic Republic and lies in the very heart of its territory. Fritz Erler, the SPD's top politician, gave this demand on the USA top priority when he toured America for political purposes together with Governing Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin and chancellor candidate of the SPD. Here is an excerpt from an interview given to the second program of the West German Television in Washington on 20 April 1965:

Reporter: *"Over the past few days you had the opportunity here to undertake, in part with the mayor of (West) Berlin, a sort of world political tour d'horizon in many talks. I can imagine that topic number one was Vietnam."*

Erler declared, identifying himself with the point of view of the USA: *"...one can only succeed, if one also has to hold western positions in other parts of the world as for instance in West Berlin, when one stands together wherever there are danger spots. The Americans were*

very pleased about the favourable reception of the American president's speech on Vietnam in (West) Germany."

At a press conference in Los Angeles he stressed:

"Germany supports President Johnson if he wants to negotiate from a position of strength. Should the United States retreat unilaterally it could produce a chain reaction giving rise to new unrest in Berlin, too."

(AP, 21 April 1965)

Brandt went even further and demanded that the USA, in return for a still stronger participation of West Germany in Vietnam, equip with nuclear weapons the West German army led by Hitler generals.

"He gives his full moral support for President Johnson's policy in South-East Asia, he affirms the combination of firmness and preparedness for negotiations . . ."

And further:

"The German government and the German people cannot be indifferent to what is happening in that other part of the world and whether peace is threatened there, said Brandt. He cannot be indifferent to whether the USA fulfils its obligations anywhere or not . . ."

"Brandt again advocated nuclear defence preparedness, where all members would have a say in strategic planning and take part in research and development . . . In Brandt's opinion the Federal Republic must have access to space and nuclear research . . ."

(UPI, 26 April 1965)

Carlo Schmid, another top SPD politician, holds the same obscure opinion that the USA is defending the interests, in fact, the "destiny" of the ruling West German circles, in Vietnam. He opposes, notwithstanding the innumerable victims of that bloody war, "lamentation" and pleads for "courage", "loyalty" and "confidence", in the jargon of his former activity as a nazi war reporter.

"We Germans are especially concerned by this situation. Our interests and our destiny are at stake in Vietnam, too. The direction

which the conflicts in East Asia will take could produce a difficult situation and eventually also unbearable shifting of the relation of power for us which are of decisive importance for the existence of our country. In such situations lamentation is just as bad . . . as the unconditional renunciation of the protection of one's own interests . . . Only three things can help in such a situation – courage in oneself and one's destiny, one's own loyalty and confidence in the loyalty of friends, perseverance when in hardship."

(Münchener Abendzeitung, 27 April 1965)

The American imperialists intend to retard their military and political defeat in South Vietnam by expanding the war against the South Vietnamese people to the neighbouring countries, especially to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Early in August 1964 the USA began a number of armed attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin. Whereas all peace-loving peoples of the world condemned the aggressive policy pursued by the American imperialists and their South Vietnamese puppets, because they were deeply concerned about the maintenance of peace throughout the world, the West German imperialists again showed themselves to be the truest allies of the American imperialists and did not hide their joy at the dangerous sharpening of the situation in South-East Asia. They hailed the provocative attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which are in striking contradiction to all the norms of international law as being "in compliance with international law". The official statement of the West German government said:

- "1. *The federal government maintains that the limited measures of the United States of America in answer to the unprovoked attacks are in compliance with international law.*
- "2. *The federal chancellor has expressed his understanding for the reaction and his confidence in the attitude of the United States in his reply to the message by American President Johnson."*

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 11 August 1964)

Applause for the "Policy of Strength"

Bonn sees in these actions the model of its own procedure in Germany and Europe. In connection with the latest attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam since February 1965, hailed by the West German press as "retaliatory measures", the ruling circles of the Federal Republic call upon the USA to continue its aggressive military policy in South Vietnam and to conduct eventual negotiations only from a "position of strength".

"... In order to gain greater political freedom of movement in South Vietnam and, in addition, in Asia, they (the negotiations – the authors) require a position of strength..."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 12 February 1965)

The US war in South-East Asia is called an "imperative conflict" in which the West German imperialists must take part. The Rheinischer Merkur, the organ of former Chancellor Adenauer, beats the drums for this:

"This conception of the United States imposes upon us the obligation to regard the war in South Vietnam not as an uncomfortable marginal event of a peaceful post-war period but as an imperative conflict. The United States' struggle in Vietnam can – we are not impartial in this case – be looked at only with strong sympathy."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 12 February 1965)

On 17 March 1965 the Hamburg Die Welt advocated an even stronger engagement of the Federal Republic at the side of the American aggressors in South Vietnam. In contrast to the world-wide indignation at the terror campaign of the American imperialists this mouthpiece of the West German ruling circles demands a more massive support of the South Vietnamese regime.

"... It would probably be best if Bonn increased its economic aid to the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). Firstly, such increased aid would show the Americans that (West) Germany realizes what is at stake in (South) Vietnam. Secondly, it might serve as a building stone in restoring a state-supporting society in South Vietnam... But, one

thing should be clear: Germany should place itself at the head of the powers that understand and support America's presence in Vietnam . . .

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 17 March 1965)

This was also the purpose of the visit to the United States in March 1965 of Special Minister Krone, chairman of the West German "Defence Council", where he wanted to settle above all details of a stronger West German participation in South Vietnam. He officially promised the United States the support of the West German government for the US aggression in Vietnam and assured "understanding" for the policy of the United States in South-East Asia.

" . . . Krone stressed that for his part he had informed Rusk about the great understanding of the Federal Republic for the position of the USA in Vietnam. The war in South-East Asia had been discussed at length . . . "

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 18 March 1965)

As clearly follows from these facts the ruling circles in the Federal Republic, especially the Erhard government, have plainly and energetically committed themselves in South Vietnam and promote the dirty USA aggression with all their strength. Thus the Federal Republic is participating in the war against the Vietnamese people. The former South Vietnamese Prime Minister Khanh admitted this unmistakably in an interview with Die Welt on 24 June 1964:

"All help is welcome. In view of the special requirements of this war this help must not be of a military nature only; it should comprise all other fields, as well i.e.; political, diplomatic, economic . . . "

As one can see Bonn has been all too eager to comply with this demand.

Participation in the Imperialist Intervention in the Congo

Nor did Bonn withhold its services from the imperialist aggression in the Congo in autumn 1964. Here too it continued its neo-colonialist policy which became manifest as early as 1960 when the liberated

country on the Congo river was for the first time the arena of imperialist intervention. Then, as today, Bonn was an accomplice of those responsible for the tragedy of the Congolese people.

In this connection we state:

1) In 1960 the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany actively supported the military intervention of imperialism in the Republic of Congo.

2) They did not conceal their satisfaction over the assassination of Lumumba of whom Bundestag President Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier said in an interview:

"A Lumumba in power can ruin everything . . ."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 26 October 1960)

3) They backed the US imperialists when they embarked upon an even more severe course against the Congolese liberation movement. They referred to the sanguinary outrages perpetrated by the interventionists as 'half-measures'.

4) They approved of the US imperialists disregarding the UN resolutions.

5) They advocated the formation of a big mercenary troop led by colonial officers to check the liberation struggle of the Congolese people.

6) They gave Tshombé every support.

The following factual material proves these statements:

In 1960 the West German government readily supported the transport of Belgian infantrymen from Arnsberg via the Belgian West Germany-Congo air lift. It placed its territory at the disposal of American units to serve as a base for the imperialist colonial powers' collective aggression. The American troops which were to be sent from West Germany into action in the Congo were the same paratrooper squadrons that in summer 1958 had been flown from West Germany to Lebanon (Die Welt, Hamburg, 13 July 1960).

The then Bonn Foreign Minister von Brentano expressed himself very precisely on the policy of the Federal Government on the Congo question when declaring that he has full understanding for Belgium's acts of violence and terror (DPA report, 19 August 1960).

Instigation against Patrice Lumumba

By slandering Patrice Lumumba and the legitimate Congolese government led by him Bonn became implicated in his assassination. The Münchner Merkur which is close to the Adenauer-Erhard party, the CDU, wrote as early as 19 August 1960:

"It is time for Lumumba to withdraw from the political stage."

Immediately after the assassination of Patrice Lumumba had been made public, when peace-loving people were seized with indignation at the outrage, the ruling circles in the Federal Republic were exultant:

"... In the long run it can only be of advantage that the motor which kept unrest in the Congo going has been eliminated once and for all."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 15 February 1961)

Sympathy for the Aggressors

The second open military aggression of imperialism against the Congo began on 24 November 1964. Again Belgian paratroopers supported by the US attacked Stanleyville. The Erhard government at once gave permission for an air lift to transport American invaders from West German territory to the Congo. The enthusiasm of the West German ruling circles about the imperialist aggression in the Congo even went so far that the North Rhine-Westphalian Minister Weyer in a circular letter called upon the police officers under him to volunteer for a year's service in the Congo.

Numerous West German and West Berlin newspapers glorified the Congo aggression of the US and Belgium:

"... Thirteen nations, among them Germany, are greatly indebted to the swiftly and bravely intervening Belgian paratroopers."
(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 27 November 1964)

The Süddeutsche Zeitung of Munich greeted on 27 November 1964 the Belgian-American intervention as a "good rescue operation".

The Hamburg Welt am Sonntag of 29 November 1964 did not forget to thank the Belgian paras and other mercenaries in its own way for the atrocities perpetrated by them:

"Not only water flows from their water-bottles and the campfire in the evenings is unlikely to inspire them to cite sentimental verses. They are mercenaries and tough guys, and they know how to fight for their lives. They risk their lives and are of course paid for that risk. Some of them say: 'We are defending our African homeland.' Others say: 'Even in the Congo jungle we are fighting against communism'. And again others: 'We love adventure, danger, good pay'. Or they say: 'We have always been legionaries, this is the only thing we have learnt. We were in the Sahara, in Vietnam, and with the Imam in Yemen. And now we happen to be with Tshombé'. No matter how glittering the various reasons may sometimes appear which tempted these men into their present job, they are certainly neither political or military 'agents of imperialism and colonialism' nor professional gangsters."

The West German big bourgeois press does not hesitate either to ask the Erhard government to grant Tshombé direct military assistance:

"He (Tshombé) needs a big army which must establish bases in all important places. Mind you, an army and not a pillaging, badly-trained horde as are still today marching through the lands behaving almost as badly as those whom they pretend to be fighting against. The training of this army will have to be done by Europeans, no matter how much fuss there is about 'neo-colonialism'. So long as the military forces do not stand, Tshombé will not be able to do without the 'mercenaries' . . ."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 30 November 1964)

Several weeks earlier, on 8 August 1964, the Berliner Morgenpost, made a similar comment:

"The only thing that can help Tshombé is a stepped-up, active assistance on the part of the West, especially in the military field . . ."

Washington Should Be Tougher

In this connection the ruling circles of the Federal Republic also did not spare their criticism of their American partner who, in their view, failed to take a sufficiently aggressive and offensive stand in the Congo:

"Washington had the courage to take the first step but not enough for the second. How necessary it would have been follows from the latest news from Stanleyville. Notwithstanding the fact that one must allow for the extensive responsibility which America has as a world power, one cannot help noting here the policy of 'inadequacy' practised by the United States elsewhere as well . . ."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 December 1964)

Thus, they unscrupulously demand that the US government should openly commit itself in the Congo conflict, use the most brutal means and methods and also disregard the "so-called world public opinion", as they call it. The fact that in the case of the Congo the US government had to take into account the UN majority decision was mocked at by the West German neo-colonialists:

" . . . and that one should take care not to believe that the majority decisions were always instrumental in winning victory for the just cause."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 December 1964)

Bonn has been backing Moise Tshombé from the very beginning.

On 4 August 1960, Tshombé announced over Radio Elisabethville that his separatist policy in Katanga was also being supported by West Germany. Since then the relations between Bonn and Tshombé have become ever closer; for, in the opinion of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, expressed on 30 November 1964, Tshombé is "the only

one who is capable of leading the vast and – properly considered – rich, though badly managed country out of the chaos". Thus, they bluntly attest that Tshombé is the best advocate of the interests of the foreign monopolies in the Congo. And it is these very interests, including those of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic and West Berlin, which are at stake:

"For the West, real economic interests are at stake there. The world markets for cobalt, industrial diamonds, tin and copper cannot exist without supplies from Katanga and Kasai. Investment orders worth thousands of millions are in jeopardy."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 14 August 1964)

Bolstering up Tshombé

Immediately after Tshombé in July 1964 had become prime minister of the Congo (Leopoldville) by illegal methods, Bonn gave him generous assistance for his campaign against the Congolese people. West German "volunteers", among them former SS officers, make up a large part of Tshombé's white mercenaries. As the Hamburg Bildzeitung of 7 September 1964 reported, it is especially the West Germans who "prove good" as mercenaries. That is why the former British Major Michael Hoare, chief of Tshombé's training centre for white mercenaries in the Congo, declared according to Bildzeitung:

"We are trying to get about 100 more mercenaries from the Federal Republic. The Germans are good at this game!"

Already in May 1964 General Mobutu, commander-in-chief of the Leopoldville "national army", visited West Germany and successfully negotiated on assistance in military training and equipment (Die Welt, Hamburg, 20 May 1964).

Bonn's support for the Tshombé clique has doubtlessly had its climax so far in Tshombé's "state visit" to the Federal Republic in mid-December 1964. While the West German people were protesting and demonstrating against the visit, the representatives of finance capital and the

official representatives of the Federal Republic were receiving Tshombé with open arms and identifying themselves with him. One of the reasons for this was the fact that immediately before his visit Tshombé had been excluded from participation in the conference of non-aligned countries held in Cairo, had been confined to his lodgings there and thus experienced a low point in his political career. So, it was the purpose of his West Germany trip from the very outset to create for him a political counterweight to the reverse he sustained in Cairo, to raise his political prestige in the eyes of world public opinion and thus belatedly compromise the conference of non-aligned countries. No other imperialist state lent itself to this disgraceful task to the extent West Germany did. All leading figures took part in implementing it.

Tshombé was received in West Germany by

- **Federal President Dr. Heinrich Lübke.**

Lübke bestowed "all honours" upon him and talked with him for one and a half hours. One of the subjects discussed was details of the capital aid agreement amounting to 10 million marks and other "possibilities of giving support" (Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 December 1964).

- **Bundestag President Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier.**

Gerstenmaier promised Tshombé "his full support" (*ibid.*).

Only a few months earlier he had been talking in a number of African countries in his capacity as president of the (West) German Africa Society about "the peoples' right of self-determination".

- **The Düsseldorf Rhine-Ruhr Club.**

The "Council of the Gods" of the West German coal and steel industry and of the armament industry is grouped in this 'club'. Such exponents of German imperialism as Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, owner of the Krupp works, and the representatives of the former IG-Farben works, the Zyklon gases of which were used in the concentration camps of the Hitler Reich to kill millions of people, are members of this club. Tshombé also wanted to get money

from these "pardoned" war criminals for his dirty war against the Congolese people.

Strict secrecy was observed regarding the results of Tshombé's discussions in the Rhine-Ruhr Club. Political observers are convinced, however, that here, too, Tshombé was given a credit of millions. They establish a historic parallel: on 27 January 1932 another usurper had said in his speech before the same Rhine-Ruhr Club that he needed money to enforce his policy. It was Adolf Hitler. Exactly one year later the industrial magnates lifted him into power and after six years he started the most murderous of all wars up to now.

Early in February 1964 the Ghanaian Times wrote as follows:

"Nobody believes that the lust for economic expansion of these circles and thus their dangerousness to world peace have diminished."
(Retranslated from the German.)

- The banker Rudolf Münnemann.

Tshombé had conducted several negotiations with Münnemann in Munich where he, incidentally, also met Bavarian Prime Minister Goppel.

Rudolf Münnemann climbed up to the stratum of West German millionaires after the Second World War. Employing cunning financial tricks he first brought hundreds of small-scale enterprises into financial difficulties in order to buy them up afterwards. For years Münnemann had been financing several neo-fascist associations in West Germany whose aim it is to revise the German frontiers by force. Now he also finances Tshombé. He, too, wants to be involved in the "Congo business deal" (Die Welt, Hamburg, 14 December 1964).

Tshombé had good reason to assess his state visit in Bonn as a complete success. In the meantime, a total of 230 million marks have flowed from West Germany to the Congo. By the way, Bonn President Dr. Heinrich Lübke was the only head of state in the world who in November 1964 expressed thanks to US President Johnson, Belgian King Baudouin and Tshombé for the gory invasion in the Congo. In iden-

tical cables he termed the aggression a "humanitarian action" and conveyed "his sincere thanks" to the invaders (Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 4 December 1964).

The conspiracy between Tshombé and Bonn represents a grave danger to the Congolese liberation movement. It makes it clear once more that the West German government has lined up with the suppressors of freedom and self-determination of the peoples. This is even more obvious from Bonn's support of the imperialist bridge-head Israel.

Bonn and the Imperialist Base of Israel

Ever since the Anglo-French-Israeli Suez aggression failed in autumn 1956 the imperialist powers have been trying to build up the state of Israel which economically is completely dependent on the USA, as a bridge-head for a newly-conceived punitive expedition of NATO against the Arab states.

The ruling circles in the West German Federal Republic and West Berlin are playing a prominent role in achieving this objective. The reactionary Bonn-Washington-Tel Aviv alliance has once already proved its "worth". That was in 1956. Up to that time the Federal Republic had already supplied to Israel strategically important industrial goods worth 1,250 million marks as "reparations". These deliveries under the West German-Israeli Restitution Agreement of 10 September 1952 included weapons as is revealed by various press reports (Der Tag, West Berlin, 31 December 1957, Die Welt, Hamburg, 2 January 1958).

Today the ties between the ruling circles in Bonn and Tel Aviv are closer than ever. Both are proponents of the "forward strategy" and therefore advocates of preparing new military conflicts at the focal points of NATO strategy in the Mediterranean. After the meeting of the war ministers of the USA and West Germany in November 1964 Bonn was entrusted with special tasks in this connection. Therefore, West Germany increases its aid to Israel, as Israel's military poten-

tialities and contributions play an important part in this aggressive conception. Only thus can it be understood why Bonn has been making arms presents for years, giving Israel "military assistance" as has not been received by any other country, and why Bonn strengthens Israel's economic position by close economic relations.

Here is the evidence:

NATO Instruction: "Preventive" War against the Arab Countries

"Worthy of note is a statement by army commander General Itshak Rabin that Israel would make use of its 'authority to make decisions' and not necessarily wait for the Arabs to shoot."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 26–27 February 1965)

"Israel's liking for 'preventive wars' is demonstrated by the campaigns on the Sinai peninsula in 1956."

(Ibid.)

Strauss as Initiator of Arms Presents

"According to Arab sources Bonn's arms aid to Jerusalem has so far consisted in deliveries worth 300 million marks, modern high-speed launches, war planes of the latest design and different types, as well as a wide range of excellent army weapons. The Bundeswehr trains officers and men from Israel (5,000 up to now) and Bonn also finances the construction of Israeli arms factories. German nuclear physicists and public as well as private German funds are active in the field of Israeli atomic research. Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Aba Eban recently admitted in the Jerusalem Parliament that a number of German atomic scientists (52 in all) were working at the Weizmann Institute at Rehovot and that this scientific institute was receiving West German financial assistance. The entanglement of the Federal Republic with the state of Israel is a big one . . ."

(Echo der Zeit, Recklinghausen, 10 January 1965)

West German television confirmed in a talk by its staff-members Horch and Müggenburg on 20 November 1964 that Bonn was giving

military assistance to Israel. It stressed the active role of former West German war minister and present chairman of the CSU government party, Franz-Josef Strauss:

"Horch: 'This military assistance to Israel is based on arrangements made under former Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his Defence Minister Franz-Josef Strauss some years ago. Meanwhile, these arrangements have been taken over by the new government, both by the new federal chancellor and also by the new defence minister. They provide for weapons being supplied to Israel by the Federal Republic, weapons of various types up to so-called large-scale equipment...'"

"Müggenburg: 'Did Parliament know about this secret agreement?'"

"Horch: No, not in its entirety, but there is a small committee in Parliament, a special body composed of three representatives of the three parliamentary groups which is informed about these things in great detail, and as a matter of fact not only about military assistance to Israel but about the military assistance we give to all countries."

"Müggenburg: 'Can it be determined or stated what exactly has been supplied to Israel up to now?'"

"Horch: 'Well, you know this is a difficult problem since all these things are 'Top Secret', and everybody who obtains unauthorized information about them and divulges it in public will come into conflict with the federal prosecutor-general. But without going into details, I think it can be said that military assistance has been given to an extent as has not been the case up to now with regard to any other country. It is understood that it amounts to 200 million marks or slightly more, whereby not all has been delivered so far, but this sum has more or less been contracted for. To take up another specific item: a number of well over 100 tanks has been mentioned... 'also anti-aircraft guns. Yes, we have supplied to the Israelis the guns for one AA battalion and have trained military technicians and commanding officers at the Rendsburg AA school...'"

"Müggenburg: 'How about planes and helicopters?'

"Horch: 'Planes and helicopters have also been supplied . . . There is, of course, a number of other things about which it is better not to talk.'

"Müggenburg: 'You mean this with a view to the prosecutor-general?'

"Horch: 'Exactly.'"

Die Welt of 21 February 1965 gives a figure of about 320 million marks as the value of arms deliveries.

One peculiarity of West German military assistance to Israel is that it implies more than a consolidation of NATO's positions in general and of the USA's position in particular. It is carried out under the slogan of alleged moral and, above all, material reparation for crimes which the Hitler regime committed against the Jewish population before and during the Second World War. Genuine reparation would have to begin in West Germany with such measures as the punishment of those guilty of nazi crimes, the removal of former nazis from public posts and the extermination of racism. The NATO powers instead, primarily the USA, used the concept of reparation as a pretext for the economic and military consolidation of Israel by means of the Federal Republic. That reparation was really only a pretext under which the situation in an area of political and military tensions was to be aggravated was shown quite conclusively by the Eichmann trial. It led to one of the morally most despicable businesses known in contemporary history. Since the Eichmann trial would necessarily have given rise to an accusation against the Bonn state where along with State Secretaries Globke and Vialon many hundreds of murderers of Jews and racists hold or held high posts, it was decided by West German-Israeli agreement to spare the murderers of millions of innocent people, to leave the injustice committed unpunished in the face of world opinion and to refrain from denouncing the Federal Republic of West Germany and its power apparatus as a bulwark of aggressive circles bent on revenge and retribution. In return, it was agreed that this act of inhumanity was to be followed

up by another one – the stepped-up military equipment of the Israeli army for the purpose of offensive operations within the framework of a forward advance strategy directed against the Arab peoples.

Editor-in-chief Henri Nannen of the West German illustrated Stern commented on this in the news magazine Der Spiegel 10/1965, pp. 6–9. Nannen reported that Strauss had met Israeli Deputy Defence Minister Schimon Peres in late summer 1960 with the Eichmann trial impending, and then continued:

"Peres had a frank discussion with his German counterpart about Israel's defence conception... When Peres applied to his German colleague for transport planes and helicopters Strauss replied that he would hardly be able to get this through without difficulty – 'such a thing does not remain secret, after all'. He then suggested that Peres could perhaps see to it that Ben Gurion might make some sort of exculpatory statement for the Federal Republic to prevent the Eichmann trial from leading to an identification of the Federal Republic with the nazi massacres of Jews.

"On the other hand, it had to be prevented that Adenauer's State Secretary Globke be called as a witness in the Eichmann trial. Eichmann's defence counsel Servatius was understood to have the intention to make such a proposal.

"If these two 'requests of the federal government' were fulfilled he (Strauss) would see no difficulties in arms deliveries."

After his ouster as war minister, Strauss, chairman of one of the West German government parties, the CSU, remains one of the main initiators of the stepping-up of arms deliveries to Israel. Now, as then, his underhand dealings do not bear the light of day, and again it becomes apparent how closely Washington and Bonn are in collusion in this aggressive step:

"On the invitation of Jewish banking interests Israel's arms supplier of the past years had, with the secrecy of an agent, made a trip to New York. There he met Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Abba Eban.

Strauss later declared he had only followed his doctor's advice to have a change of air."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 28)

Next to Strauss it is above all Rainer Barzel, present leader of the parliamentary group of the CDU government party in the West German Bundestag, repeatedly mentioned as Erhard's successor, who is working for a sharpening of the aggressive policies directed against the interests of the Arab peoples:

"Like Barzel, Strauss urged the chancellor to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel; unlike Barzel and Krone he spoke out for a simultaneous breaking off of relations with Cairo."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 28)

Birrenbach's Mission

Again it is an exponent of West German financial capital and a Wall Street trustee at the same time, Dr. Birrenbach, who is negotiating the shady arms deals as Bonn's special envoy to Israel.

Christ und Welt, Stuttgart, 19 March 1965 reported about him:

"Since 1954 he has been chairman of the board of directors of the August Thyssen Company, later he also became vice-president of the Fritz Thyssen Foundation set up in 1959. The biggest German industrial foundation up to now also allocates funds to the Weizmann Institute in Israel – a research undertaking of international standing with a staff of 350 scientists. The sympathy which Birrenbach can expect to find in Israel may not least be attributable to this. Moreover, Birrenbach is well reputed in Jewish economic circles of the USA. As an economic and financial expert with strong political affiliations Birrenbach has been a member of the Bundestag since 1957."

Birrenbach is also given credit for being one of the top representatives of the Dresdner Bank, one of the big West German banks with large financial interests in Africa and Asia. Furthermore, Birrenbach is the

custodian of one of the largest private fortunes, a large part of which is made available for use by West German financial interests.

"CDU Bundestag member Birrenbach, member of the central advisory board of the Dresdner Bank, is general agent for the administration of the property of Countess Anita de Zichy, daughter of late industrial magnate Fritz Thyssen, and, at the same time chairman of the board of directors of the August-Thyssen-Hütte-AG for holdings in Düsseldorf."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 27)

Birrenbach is the personification of joint West German-American interests:

"... His intimate knowledge of American high finance made him particularly eligible in recent years to be repeatedly sent to the USA on fact-finding missions for the federal government as well as for the CDU parliamentary group."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 28)

Birrenbach is closely associated with imperialist oil interests in the Middle East. His reaction to the offer to go on this mission to Israel is described as follows:

"Birrenbach hesitated for a while. The Thyssen Company carries out large deliveries of pipes for the oil companies in the Near East. His mission could not be favourable to these transactions ..."

(Der Spiegel, 12/1965, p. 28)

Birrenbach also personifies the fusion of private and public capital in the financing of atomic armament in Israel:

"The Fritz Thyssen Foundation together with the Foundation of the Volkswagen Works have for years been allocating large sums to support the Weizmann Institute at Rehovot, Israel, where biological and chemical research is carried on."

(Der Spiegel, 12/1965, p. 27)

Notwithstanding the Arab protests against the Birrenbach manoeuvres of establishing diplomatic relations between Bonn and Tel Aviv, which

resulted in ten Arab countries breaking off their diplomatic relations with West Germany, the arms deliveries to Israel are being continued. The arrangements have been changed in so far as transports are not carried through directly, i. e., the armaments material is no longer transshipped over West German ports and is in part not taken from West German arsenals either. In the future Bonn will rather buy weapons for Israel abroad at West German expense or have West German weapons transshipped to Israel via foreign ports. At first 120 million marks are made available from the Budget for the new arms supplies which are camouflaged as "payments of a civil nature".

"In the negotiations on the release of (West) German arms supplies to Israel which were stopped in spring, the federal government has in part yielded to the demand of Israel not to publish details . . . Arms supplies worth some 64 million marks were to be released. Instead Israel receives a one-time economic service of a civil nature in the form of a financial allowance amounting to 120 million marks. Thus the federal government made allowance for the fact that the Israeli government had ruled towards its own parliament that the release of the (West) German military aid must not damage the security of Israel."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 14 May 1965)

The fact that the future West German arms supplies are the subject of secret treaties and that it was agreed to slip them into Israel by other means than those formerly used to deceive the Arab public cannot be concealed any longer even in West Germany.

"The Jerusalem correspondent of the Paris newspaper Le Monde alleges that Bonn concluded a secret agreement with Israel, the content and significance of which would scarcely become known in the predictable future. He writes: 'The agreement on the supply of military equipment which was the chief topic of negotiations is considered unacceptable from the side of Israel although the deliveries must be made in another way from that which was foreseen before the outbreak of the crisis.'"

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 14 May 1965)

Thus Bonn is continuing its aggressive course to an undiminished extent and aggravates the political situation in the Near and Middle East through new voluminous arms deliveries to Israel which are fixed in secret treaties.

Relay Station of Collective Neo-Colonialism

Along with its aggressive policy as a spearhead of NATO in the Middle East, Israel acts as a "relay station" of collective neo-colonialism. Israel conducts an extensive infiltration of the Afro-Asian countries which is largely financed by world imperialism and which directly serves its interests. Thereby the major imperialist powers took particular advantage of the Israelis' ability to camouflage their real intentions. Israel appears to be anti-colonial, a victim of racial persecution, an example of the rapid development from economic backwardness, and a "model" of a "social" economic and political order. By means of "technical and educational aid", the activity of specialized building enterprises, the establishment of Israeli-African companies with mixed national and private ownership, particularly by way of training African personnel in Israel itself, Israel has been able to gain a footing and in part to win considerable influence in almost all trans-Saharan African states. At the end of 1962 over 500 Israeli experts were active in Africa concentrating on the agrarian sector, advisory functions in industry and the national economy, organizing the cooperative system as well as training personnel in different fields.

How important these activities are to the overall imperialist interests in Africa can, for instance, be seen from the commentary of the West German Afrika-Informationsdienst (African Information Service), 19/1962, in which it is said:

"All this is naturally extremely gratifying since the Israeli influence in Africa directly or indirectly serves the western cause . . ."

Therefore, the West German Africa Society, for instance, calls upon the other imperialist powers

"to use Israel as a relay station to Africa and a number of Asian countries, i.e., to support in one form or the other, but above all financially, its efforts with regard to the development problems of the Black Continent, naturally with the necessary discretion."

(Afrika-Informationsdienst, 19/1962)

In the meantime this direct support for Israel's neo-colonialist infiltration had taken clear shape mainly on the part of the Common Market powers. Thus Israeli firms were now allowed participation in submitting tenders for projects of the Common Market development fund, and trainees and students from Africa were sent to Israel for training to be financed from this Common Market fund. For the special purpose of financing its African undertakings Israel issued bonds which raised 25 million dollars in West Germany alone, while a Paris banking syndicate undertook to sell such bonds at a total value of 50 million dollars. All this shows the increasing importance of Israel in achieving the objectives of neo-colonialism in Africa, in the employment and with the direct support of world imperialism.

Those who profit most from this infiltration are the USA and West Germany. This proves the inseparable connection between Israel's function as a military and a politico-economic spearhead of neo-colonialism. West Germany's economic and military aid is a basis for fulfilling both functions.

The particular benevolence of the Federal Republic of West Germany towards Israel also became evident in the close economic relations of the two countries. This stronghold against the peoples' liberation movement has received more funds from Bonn than all the Arab and African states together. In 1963 the Federal Republic's exports to Israel were valued at 213 million marks, its imports at 223 million marks.

The Federal Republic brought its influence to bear so that as early as 1964 a trade agreement was concluded between the EEC and Israel against French and Italian resistance. This was reported by the Industrie-kurier, Düsseldorf, 9 May 1964:

"On 6 May the EEC Council of Ministers gave its approval to the trade agreement between the European Economic Community and

Israel signed by the Hallstein Commission and the head of the Israeli delegation at the negotiations. This agreement is the second commercial treaty without discrimination negotiated by the Community with a non-EEC country . . .

"The agreement was concluded for a period of three years with a possibility of being extended. The two parties signed notes declaring their readiness to consider as far as possible Israeli exports during the Kennedy round of talks on world-wide tariff reductions."

After this preliminary stage Israel will now be linked up with the Common Market as an associated member on Bonn's initiative.

Cyprus and the Theory of "NATO's Threatened Southern Flank"

In the imperialist plot against Cyprus, just as in the case of the aggression against Vietnam and the Congo, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic and West Berlin proved themselves the staunchest henchmen of American imperialism.

We state on this:

- 1) The Federal Republic of West Germany openly sided with the aggressors in this conflict. It described the legitimate right of Cyprus to freedom and independence as a threat to "NATO's southern flank".
- 2) It justified NATO's military intervention against the Cypriot people, insulted the victims of aggression and slanderously described the leaders of the liberation struggle as war-mongers.
- 3) When the attempt to have Cyprus occupied by NATO failed, the Federal Republic increased its military aid to Turkey in order to tie it down still more strongly to the strategy of NATO in the Mediterranean.

The following events characterize Bonn's attitude on the Cyprus question:

In August 1964 NATO used Turkey to start its military intervention against the Cypriot people. This imperialist act of violence sparked off the vigorous protest of all peace-loving mankind. Bonn, however, provocatively took sides with the aggressors.

Die Welt wrote one day after the heavy air attack:

“...The United Nations, with the help of its members, has so far failed in the Cyprus question. It has not brought the archbishop to his senses. But it is just this that must be done. NATO, whose southern flank is now threatened, must help in this.”

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 10 August 1964)

Similar comment comes from other West German and West Berlin newspapers:

“If a new European anarchy or a totalitarian regime are not to be encouraged the western allies must now take action in the Cyprus conflict. Now, not tomorrow.”

(Welt der Arbeit, Cologne, 14 August 1964)

Later too, when the situation in Cyprus had calmed down, Bonn did not stop heating up the situation in this area mainly relying, as in the years before, on the military potential of Turkey.

From 1957 to 1962 West Germany granted Turkey armaments credits to the amount of 1,160 million marks. In 1963 and 1964 the Erhard government gave additional financial aid amounting to 320 million marks.

In 1964 Bonn continued its military assistance to Turkey. In early May West German war minister Kai Uwe von Hassel was in Turkey for the signing of a military aid agreement. West Germany undertook to supply Turkey with 50 million marks worth of F 84 F jet fighters, high-speed launches, tanks, artillery and small-arms (Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 6 May 1964).

In this connection the Düsseldorf Industriekurier of 5 May 1964 reported:

"The federal defence minister who was accompanied on his visit to Turkey by General Trettner inspected... a munitions factory in the town of Kirikkale 70 kilometres east of Ankara. The Federal Republic receives from this factory ammunition supplies worth 740 million marks. Von Hassel's itinerary still includes a visit to Istanbul and a talk with Turkish Chief-of-Staff Sunay..."

It is to be added that the armaments plant mentioned was built by the Federal Republic with US financial assistance.

During his stay in Turkey Hassel announced his intention to visit Greece at the end of May 1964 to discuss questions of NATO and military cooperation. Greece has received military aid to the amount of 35 million marks from the Federal Republic since 1963.

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 6 May 1964).

On 1 November 1964 Kai Uwe von Hassel and Turkish Defence Minister Ilhami Sancar signed a communiqué in the Federal Republic providing for increased West German "assistance in training Turkish officers and Turkish technical personnel at establishments of the Bundeswehr" (Die Welt, Hamburg, 2 November 1964, B Edition).

A few days later the Tagesspiegel reported that Bonn had also resumed its arms deliveries to Turkey:

"Most striking evidence of this military assistance was the recent delivery of two motor torpedo vessels to Turkey which are to be followed by another two vessels of a larger type. At the same time it was announced by an official Bonn spokesman that the passing-on of jet fighters and fighter-bombers originally handed over to the Bundeswehr by the USA and Canada would be resumed."

Then the paper makes a remarkable admission:

"By supporting the two countries the Federal Republic not only complies with a politico-military arrangement within the alliance, but also fulfils a political mission."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 10 November 1964)

This "political mission" which Bonn fulfilled as on other occasions

in the interests of NATO and world imperialism, consisted in active participation in the imperialist aggression against the Cypriot people defending their national freedom.

Bonn Hails US Aggression in the Dominican Republic

As in the case of all previous attacks of imperialism on the national liberation movement, the ruling circles in West Germany and their West Berlin backers welcomed the armed US onslaught on the Dominican Republic, calling it an expression of "humanitarian aspirations".

"In the considerations of President Johnson which led to the dispatch of a few thousand marines and paratroopers to the scene of revolutionary conflicts, ideas of political precaution have been foremost, apart from humanitarian aspirations."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 3 May 1965)

Significantly enough, it is precisely the West Berlin press controlled from West Germany which is trying to elicit declarations of sympathy for this cowardly attack from the population of this enclave. Thus West Berlin newspapers appeared with the following headlines: "America now shows its teeth" (Ullstein BZ, 3 June 1965), "USA has awakened" (Nachdepesche, 3 May 1965) and "Vigorous reaction by United States to uphold American interests" (ibid.).

Being one of the first states to welcome the US invasion of the Dominican Republic, West Germany was in summer 1963 also among the first countries to recognize the unpopular regime brought to power in a US supported military coup against President Juan Bosch. The story behind the president's overthrow was told by the Frankfurter Rundschau of 3 May 1965:

"Just at the moment when he (Juan Bosch) showed his intention to nationalize American industrial undertakings, the military chased him away for fear of an alleged spreading of Castroism."

The renewed US interference has also been largely motivated by an alleged link-up of the Dominicans with the national liberation move-

ment in Cuba. As consistent opponents of liberating revolutions, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic welcome the outrageous act of aggression perpetrated by the USA against the Dominican people's right of self-determination. As in the case of Cyprus, Israel and the Congo they express approval for the US military intervention cloaking it with arguments of military and strategic "necessity":

The Handelsblatt wrote on 30 April 1965

"that in the Dominican Republic a government is being set up guaranteeing the safety of America's south-eastern flank and acting in harmony with Washington. The . . . state in the Caribbean Sea is of particular importance to the United States. It occupies a key position between the Atlantic and the Caribbean in a purely geographical sense . . . and is situated within easy reach of Cuba."

With its attempt to justify the US attack on the Dominican Republic the ruling circles in West Germany and their West Berlin backers have furnished the latest example of their unyielding and consistent opposition to the national liberation movement.

The policy of supporting the acts of terror against the national liberation movement pursued by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic and West Berlin is supplemented by their striving to become active in existing hotbeds of international tensions, to actively support the most reactionary regimes and to show their solidarity with them.

Friendship with Anti-national Regimes in Asia

The support of reactionary pro-imperialist regimes in Asia plays a big role within the neo-colonialist conception of the Federal Republic of West Germany. In addition to Bonn's engagement in South Vietnam, which has already been pointed out, we are mainly concerned here with the anti-national regime of dictator Pak Chung Hi in South Korea and Chiang Kai-Shek on Taiwan, the SEATO state of Thailand, the neo-colonialist set-up of Malaysia and the Shah's regime in Iran. As imperialist

outposts in this part of the world these states were converted by Anglo-American imperialism into areas of tension on the periphery of the world socialist system and into centres of provocation against the national liberation movement of the Asian peoples.

In this sense these states have gone into action on various occasions endangering the peace of the world.

So far it has been in the first place a concern of the USA to raise the political, economic and military status of these regimes. Relieving the political and economic burden of the USA on the one hand and pursuing its own aggressive objectives on the other, Bonn is developing an increasing activity in this area. Big bourgeois newspapers of the West have admitted this quite openly. Thus, for instance, the Neue Zürcher Zeitung of 13 December 1964 wrote in connection with the visit to the Federal Republic of West Germany of South Korean dictator Pak Chung Hi that this step had been inspired by a "desire fostered by America".

Particular Interest in Divided Countries

Bonn becomes particularly active in those countries which like Germany itself were split apart by US imperialism in cooperation with the internal reactionary forces – in South Vietnam and South Korea. The West German government practically uses these states as political "training grounds" for the planned attack on the GDR, the other German state. In the light of these facts Bonn's active military support for the dirty war in South Vietnam gains special significance. Similar motives are guiding Bonn in its activities in South Korea.

In this aggressive striving to annex the other part of the country by military means Bonn's leading politicians know that they are at one with the South Korean dictator. This joint standpoint was officially confirmed on the occasion of mutual state visits in 1964. Bundestag President Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier expressed in a speech to the National Assembly of South Korea:

"On behalf of the German people and their government I assure you

that Germany will assist your country in the economic and, if necessary, in other fields, too.

(Die Welt, Berlin, 29 May 1964)

Pak Chung Hi stated in the Federal Republic of West Germany which so far was the only European country to prepare a state reception for the South Korean dictator:

"... I hope that on the occasion of my visit to your country the strong effort of our two nations aiming to put an end to our common fate as divided nations will be continued and that, to consolidate these efforts, a deeper understanding and closer relations will be established in all fields."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 9 December 1964)

In a communiqué published in Bonn at the end of dictator Pak Chung Hi's state visit to the Federal Republic it is emphasized that "the two peoples are inseparably linked in their striving for common aims" (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 December 1964)

It appears that the Bonn-Seoul plot is based first and foremost on the common ideas on the "reunification" by force of arms. For this purpose the two countries maintain the largest armies in their respective regions, West Germany in Western Europe and South Korea in East Asia. (Out of South Korea's population of 27 million, over 600,000 are under arms.)

For this reason Bonn is prepared to support the economic and military apparatus of South Korean dictator Pak:

"Out of a total of 144.8 million dollars in private foreign credits Korea (i. e., South Korea) received 31.3 million from the Federal Republic. Out of a total of 138.05 million dollars in foreign government loans more than 18 million came from Bonn."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 7 December 1964)

In connection with dictator Pak's visit to the Federal Republic the Cologne Bundesanzeiger of 9 December 1964 said:

"The German side promised further financial assistance to the amount of 159 million marks for projects of particular importance to the construction of Korea. On the one hand, it is to consist of 54 million marks in capital assistance . . . The federal government has moreover declared its readiness to grant further guaranteed assistance of up to 105 million marks."

The military ties between Seoul and Bonn are also becoming closer. Only recently the chief of the Korean general staff, General Kin Sik Min was in the Federal Republic to discuss "possibilities of a closer cooperation between the Bundeswehr and the South Korean Army" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2 September 1964).

Aid to CENTO and SEATO Partners

Although the West German Federal Republic is not a member of these two aggressive military pacts of Central and South-East Asia, it has taken over important functions in the countries covered by these pacts within the West German-American cooperation. Its expansion in these countries is carried on in two directions:

- economic support of the reactionary regimes;
- military-political aid.

Bonn feels itself especially allied with the regime of the Shah in Iran. For Iran as

"a state which holds to the western alliance, which strives for western progress, which, moreover, supports our Germany policy, is always an important partner for us . . . Only at the beginning of October the Shah again quite clearly stated before parliament that he favours the CENTO alliance."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 23 October 1963)

Although Iran does not belong to NATO it is put on a equal basis with West Germany's NATO partners of the Near East, with Greece and Turkey in Bonn policy. This is expressed by the fact that Iran, in regard to credits, securities and guarantees, ranks next to the NATO members

of the Near East. Export credits amounting to 400 million marks for instance were met by securities and guarantees and suitable arrangements have been made for another 600 million marks. In addition, a further thousand million marks was announced as credit for political reasons.

The following was said in connection with a visit of Erhard in Iran:

"Since Professor Erhard visited Teheran... Iran is in the first place on the waiting list for German deliveries. If in addition all wishes which were discussed with Professor Erhard in Teheran are realized, a second thousand million marks will be added; it seems to be justified, in part because of the favourable development conditions of this country, in part because of the exposed political position of Persia. Thus the Persian development plans are moving, in regard to the order of precedence of German assessment, into one line with similar plans of Greece, Turkey and Portugal. Politically, Persia enjoys the same esteem as an allied country of NATO."

(Industrie-Rundschau, Fachblatt für Metallindustrie, West Berlin, July 1959, pages 38 and 39)

Although West Germany is not a member of CENTO, its position in some spheres of the Iranian army is almost a monopoly position.

The majority of the engineers and technical cadres of the Iranian army are trained at military schools which are directed by West Germans. People who have been especially selected by the Bonn authorities for the job are not only in charge of these schools, but they also fix the curricula and compile textbooks in Persian and German. The report of the German enterprisers' association cited above says:

"The arsenal deals with the production of weapons and accessories. It is under the control of a general of the engineering corps and has a school which has the character of a technical school. The school has a German director. He is assisted by German engineers and foremen and Iranian teachers who have the rank of officers."

(Report on the trip of the German economic study mission to Iran from 10 to 28 February 1961, pages 46 and 47)

The Bonn neo-colonialists also concentrate on Thailand which is labelled the "bastion of the western defence system in South-East Asia". This SEATO state which is a source of constant provocations against the neighbouring states of Cambodia, Burma and Laos and which arouses indignation in many South-East Asian countries because of its aggressive foreign policy course, enjoys Bonn's moral and financial support. West German propaganda paints the dictatorial regime in the rosiest colours:

"Thailand is undoubtedly the most stable country in South-East Asia, the only country which so far has not been affected by political convulsions."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 March 1963)

In Thailand, even today one of the politically most backward states in the world and entirely dependent on the USA, West Germany holds quite a significant position. An agreement on the protection of capital was concluded for the protection of western investments in Thailand.

"The agreement protects private capital investment from expropriation on the basis of reciprocity, guarantees the transfer of the capital of the yields as well as the possible net proceeds and assures the investors of equality in competition. On the basis of the agreement the federal government can grant long-term guarantees for German capital investments in Thailand to cover the non-commercial risk."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 12 March 1965)

The Federal Republic is greatly interested in economic cooperation with Thailand.

Whereas its entire trade with Asia has steadily decreased in the last years, foreign trade with Thailand has regularly increased since 1955.

(Übersee-Rundschau, 1/1964, page 16).

The Federal Republic participates in the economic development of Thailand not only through deliveries, but also through financial and technical aid. Already in 1956 an agreement on economic and technical

cooperation was concluded. At the end of 1964 agreements on several West German "aid" plans were again concluded.

Recently the Federal Republic agreed to a credit of 100 million marks which is bound to certain projects. Forty-five million marks of this loan are for extending the railways in the north-east of the country, the strategic importance of which must not be underrated (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 25 November 1962).

The "Reliable" Partner Malaysia

Also in Malaysia, the neo-colonialist base of the imperialists in the Far East, Bonn has its finger in the pie. When this neo-colonialist formation was set up at the instigation of Great Britain for the maintenance of its political, economic and military interests, the West German press stressed:

"Indonesia is politically unreliable. Malaysia, on the other hand, under the leadership of the Tungku, should be a reliable partner for the West . . . In the interest of the peoples of Asia it is, however, to be hoped that the experiment here will be successful."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 10 July 1963, edition B)

"Malaysia has favourable prospects of becoming a modern model state in South-East Asia", writes the Übersee Rundschau, 9/1963.

It has been announced that the Malaysian parliament has authorized the central government on 27 November 1964 to free the German properties in Malaysia frozen after the Second World War. In a declaration to the press the Malaysia Deputy Minister of Justice Inche Abdul Rahman Ya'akub stressed that this step had been taken in view of the "very good relations" between the Federal Republic and Malaysia (Übersee Rundschau, 1/1965, page 25).

In the middle of 1963 the agreement on the protection and promotion of capital investments came into force between the Federal Republic and Malaysia (Übersee-Rundschau, 3/1964, page 35).

The USA and other imperialist powers – including West Germany – support Malaysia as a centre of provocation in this strategically important area of South-East Asia. Malaysia is promoted in every way as a counterweight to neutral Indonesia.

In the disputes over Malaysia the Federal Republic adopted a definite attitude against Indonesia and did not refrain from making threats:

“... Should Indonesia and Malaysia not be in a position to settle their differences of opinion soon by peaceful means – and the prospects for it are slight at present – it must be taken into account that the question of German help for Indonesia will be taken up in the near future.”

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 January 1965)

In this context the Erhard government intimates that it is prepared to impose sanctions at any time against Indonesia in the interest of the imperialist plot. (In this connection note the past and present activity of the West German ambassador in Indonesia, Dr. Luitpold Werz, page 213.)

The Bonn government tacitly agreed to Great Britain's measure of “sending five hundred soldiers of the Rhine Army to Malaysia in order to demonstrate that the Federation is not alone in its crisis” (Übersee-Rundschau 9/1964, page 23). Bonn thereby proved that it readily supports the dangerous policy pursued by Malaysia and Great Britain under the pretext of defence against an alleged “Indonesian danger” in this area.

But Bonn is also prepared to open up favourable possibilities to Malaysia within the Federal Republic for propagandist activity directed against Indonesia.

The Malaysian ambassador in Bonn, Dato Jumat Abdul Hamid, said on passing through Singapore, that Malaysia should establish more consulates in the Federal Republic of West Germany in order to give the German people a “clear picture of our quarrel with Indonesia”.

The ambassador who had spent a few days in Singapore said before flying back to Bonn:

"... the Malaysian embassy is trying to spread true information on Malaysia by means of lectures and film shows. He further emphasized that the West German government supported Malaysia's quarrel against Indonesia."

(UPI report on 13 April 1965)

The anti-Indonesian propaganda in West Germany proves once more Bonn's animosity towards the peoples which, as in Indonesia, are waging a consistent struggle against imperialism.

Bonn in Alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek

Bonn also supports one of the most reactionary and aggressive regimes in South-East Asia – the regime on the island of Taiwan, supported by the USA as a 'bridge-head' for an attack on the People's Republic of China. West German politicians and military personnel regularly visit the island which, under international law, belongs to the People's Republic of China. There are close links in particular between the representative of the most aggressive power grouping in West Germany, the CSU chairman and former war minister Franz-Josef Strauss and Chiang Kai-Shek. At the same time West German trusts are striving to take over the leading position in the economic sphere which, after the USA, has been held up to now by Japan.

Here are the facts in detail:

The close contacts between Chiang Kai-Shek and Strauss are reported in Bayern Kurier, Munich, 28 November 1964:

"Strauss was received by Chiang Kai-Shek for a one-hour interview. A few days later he again had a talk with Franz-Josef Strauss which lasted for two and a half hours. An honour which no other politician has had in recent years..."

The following became known on the content of the talk:

"One could label the inhabitants of Taiwan as the Prussians of Asia ... Their army ranks among the best equipped, most efficient and numerically strongest armies in the world ... Quemoy is the eye of

Taiwan, its gaze directed towards Red China. If one were to give up this outpost it would mean leaving the flank of Taiwan almost unprotected to the communists."

(Ibid.)

It is not surprising that the invasion plans of the West German militarists against the GDR played an important role in the talks between Chiang Kai-Shek and Strauss. In discussions in political circles "one likes to compare the relation between Taiwan and the mainland with the situation in divided Germany" (ibid.). A prominent member of the government party in West Germany, Professor Adolf Suesterhenn, reports in the *Rheinische Merkur* of 21 February 1964 how these comparisons turn out:

"Above all... the following common interests of National China and the Federal Republic of Germany were pointed out:

1. *Both peoples reject communism, work for a liberal constitutional state order and also regard themselves as the spokesman of their fellow countrymen living under communist rule.*
2. *The Federal Republic of Germany and National China are both at one with the United States, which is warding off the advance of communism in Europe as well as the advance of communism in East Asia.*
3. *Without the National Chinese army which has 600,000 well-trained and modernly-equipped soldiers it is just as impossible to safeguard the freedom of East Asia against the expansionist tendencies of communism as to safeguard the freedom of Europe without the German Bundeswehr."*

Suesterhenn closes his report with the sentence:

"... One can hardly shut one's eyes to these arguments as a West German politician." (Ibid.)

After this reciprocal agreement in regard to the aggressive general conception, economic and technical-scientific cooperation is a natural consequence. This is all the more so since Taiwan, too, – as well as West

Germany – acts as main factor in cutting off West-East trade and – just as West Germany – presumes to have the right to discriminate against and boycott the trade partners of socialist countries. For this reason Japan, which has foreign trade relations with the People's Republic of China, is being increasingly placed at a disadvantage as Taiwan's supplier and gradually pushed out of its leading position with the aim of putting West Germany in its place.

"Formosa is exasperated because of the increasingly closer contacts of Japan, its most important foreign trade partner, with Peking. It would most like to obtain the equipment and the technical help, provided up to now by Japan, from the Federal Republic. According to this presentation the German enterprises are quite prepared to step into the breach."

(UPI, 8 February 1964)

Also in this case the American-West German team-work becomes especially clear; it has the aim of forcing the state and private capital export to this military outpost and of covering the economic risks linked with it by means of state guarantees:

"By its attempt more strongly to free itself from economic involvement with Japan, National China now strives for a considerable German investment activity on Formosa. Competent circles in Taipeh announced on 8 February that in the meantime National Chinese economists have asked the United States to work for the granting of Formosa's desire in Bonn. It is in the first place a matter of whether the West German federal government will take over certain guarantees towards West German enterprises for their investments on the island of National China . . ." (Ibid.)

The prominent position taken by Taiwan in Bonn's political and economic cooperation with Washington becomes quite clear from remarks made by the leading CDU politician Dr. Jaeger. He labelled the Chiang Kai-Shek clique as the

"nail in the wall from which the American and thus the West German

policy hangs in the Far East.” Taiwan is “the cornerstone of the free world”.

(*Abendzeitung*, Munich, 28 July 1960)

There is no doubt that Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China. Together with the USA, Bonn is a main enemy of the lawful incorporation of Taiwan into the People's Republic of China. But just as Bonn will not be able to prevent the democratic reunification of the two German states forever, it will not be able to ignore the right of self-determination of the Chinese people for much longer and misuse Taiwan for its aggressive plans in South-East Asia.

III. Military "Aid" for African States

In the course of their feverishly pursued rearmament, which has brought about a new and extremely dangerous source of war in the centre of Europe, the Federal Republic of West Germany has become the main supplier of arms and other military equipment to various African states. In addition it sends a large number of military experts to African countries. At the same time African soldiers are being drilled by war-experienced nazi officers in West German NATO barracks, who, as a rule, acquired their medals by committing atrocities during the attack of the nazi army on the European peoples. Future African pilots are trained by flying instructors of the nazi air force which was known for its barbarous attacks on unprotected columns of fleeing civilians.

The military "aid" to the African states is one of the newest and at the same time most dangerous instruments of the Federal Republic of West Germany for the enforcement of its own neo-colonialist policy and that of the NATO powers. This military "aid" is especially dangerous because it serves the purpose of

- chaining the young states to NATO. Preliminary stages for this are the transfer of NATO "arms" and "training systems", the bringing about of delivery obligations to NATO armament trusts, the establishment of "human" contacts with leading West German militarists, and finally the taking up of "alliance-like" relations with the Federal Republic of West Germany and with NATO;
- instigating the young states of Africa against one another, kindling military conflicts among them, thus creating new spheres of tension which can be used by the imperialists for their own ends;
- exerting political pressure on the young states by means of threatened or actual withdrawal of promised deliveries;
- splitting the national forces in the young states, sharpening existing antagonisms between them and provoking civil war;

- changing the existing progressive relation of power in the young states by means of counter-revolution;
- creating influential positions for West German imperialism, world imperialism and NATO in the young states;
- resuming the traditions of an imperialist military penetration of Africa and the Middle East established during and before the two world wars.

Growing Budgets for the Military Penetration of Africa

The pronounced reactionary character of this new form of neo-colonialist penetration can be gathered from the single fact that West Germany is treating the arms "aid" for the support of the cruel Portuguese colonial terror and the delivery of arms to Israel for the threat to the Arab states in the same way as the arms "aid" to the young sovereign states of Africa. They form a single entry in the West German budget. Reflecting on the beginnings, development, extent and structure of West German military aid the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, 10/1964, writes on page 24:

"At first, however, the Portuguese received arms, in particular sub-machine guns bought by the Bundeswehr in Israel and other equipment, so that they could defend their colony of Angola against rebels. Apart from these deliveries and the Israel transaction amounting to 320 million marks, about 350 million marks have meanwhile been granted for military development aid to African states. In addition to Tanzania, à fonds perdu

the Sudan received 80 million marks to build up border guard units, Guinea 30 million marks to build up an engineering corps, Somalia 6.4 million marks to build up a police troop and Madagascar 6 million marks for coastal protection.

"Nigeria, which is the only receiving state which wants to pay off fully the German contribution by settling the account through export deliveries, received 56 military planes. The pilots as well as the ground staff are being trained by the Bundeswehr which is also training ten pilots and ten safety officers from Libya in Germany."

The great importance which the government of the Federal Republic of West Germany attaches to the neo-colonialist military "aid" to African states is also proved by the fact that this budget item is one of the few which is to be increased in 1965 by more than half as compared to last year, from 105 million marks to 167.2 million marks. However, these figures, probably do not reveal the actual extent of West German military "aid", since – as declared by West German State Secretary von Hase himself – the respective agreements contained secret clauses. (See also *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 8 June 1963.)

West German Arms "Aid" and NATO Strategy

Military contacts with the Federal Republic of West Germany were forced upon the young African states, which reject ties with existing pact systems, as a result of arms deliveries which are to involve "alliance-like relations" between them and NATO. Imperialism regards military "aid" as indispensable for the enforcement of its plans for world domination which envisage the establishment of a "world-wide system of atomic bases" directed against the national liberation movement and the socialist countries.

"The military aid, which in part goes under the name of development aid, must be seen under the aspect of desired alliance relations. The system of atomic bases which has been built up by the western states around the Soviet Union cannot be maintained without alliances or alliance-like relations with the developing countries . . ."

(Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Supplement to the weekly paper Das Parlament, Bonn, 25 March 1964 and 1 April 1964)

The author of this conception, Hermann M. Görden, is a member of the Bundestag, governmental CDU party expert on Latin America and deputy chairman of the working group for development aid of the parliamentary group of this party. In addition he is president of the Latin America Centre, Bonn, as well as of the German-Brazilian Society, registered association, Bonn, and is also entrusted with publicity work and the working out of projects in Latin America. The deputy is also a confidant of Adenauer.

Görgen recommends that the countries receiving West German military "aid" should be gradually but incessantly integrated into the imperialist military system by means of arms "aid", initiating a process which then develops according to its own laws.

"The alliance policy for which we are striving also includes the sending of military missions to the developing countries, the delivery of weapons systems which, in case of emergency, are dependent on the producing countries, the organization of joint military or para-military manoeuvres as well as military consultations on strategic conceptions..."

"The development policy is also an instrument for the defence of national interests and one's own world political conceptions."
(Ibid.)

With the increased West German military "aid" the leading military people of the Federal Republic of West Germany are also making themselves to a growing extent the spokesmen of a particularly aggressive military conception of NATO which culminates in the assumption that NATO has a "natural" right to the military control and rule of Africa, since the security of the Federal Republic of West Germany and Western Europe depend on it. According to this conception the political and military independence of the African countries is irreconcilable with the vital interests of NATO. The former Hitler general and war criminal Heusinger who, until recently, was in office as inspector-general of the Bundeswehr is the spokesman for this strategic conception. On 11 March 1965 DPA reported under the heading: "Vital geographical strategic importance of Africa for Europe's fate":

"If Africa is lost, it will not be possible to hold West Europe, said Heusinger before the International Round Table, a meeting of scientists, economists and politicians from the Rhine-Main area... If Africa were lost to the West the possibility might arise that the communist peoples would weld together Asia, Africa and the whole of Europe into one bloc. This would at the same time seriously endanger the area of the Indian Ocean..."

Already in 1961 Heusinger had declared:

"Europe is not being defended only in Europe. A red opponent must not be permitted to gain a foothold in Africa. With this he would gain the political hinterland of NATO and could militarily threaten the flank of the alliance."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 December 1961)

Particular attention must be paid to the role which the Federal Republic of West Germany still intends to play in the Arab states, where it misuses the traditional German-Arab friendship for the aims of NATO.

In this connection Heusinger stressed the decisive role of the Arab states of North Africa for the security of the West:

"It would be a dangerous step if we Germans were manoeuvred out of this world. The Federal Republic would then not only lose a trade volume amounting to five thousand million marks... the southern flank of NATO would be torn open and the connection between Western Europe and Africa would be made more difficult or even broken through."

(DPA report, 11 March 1965)

The same conception, which is cloaked by the allegedly threatening "decline of the west", is propagated by von Hassel, the Federal Republic's war minister. If Africa were to withdraw from imperialist influence, he said,

"the countries on the south-east flank of NATO could no longer fulfil their task; an independent Europe which was thus encircled could scarcely be held any longer. The decline of the West would be an almost inevitable result, it would succumb to the pressure of two continental fronts."

(Leinen los, periodical of the German Marine Association, registered assn., Munich, 10/1964, pages 327-329)

Arms Deliveries with the Approval of the Former Colonial Powers

In order to increase the attractiveness of their military "aid", the Federal Republic of West Germany makes use of the argument of anti-colonialism. The young African states are told that West German military "aid" is to help in the first place to defend and consolidate their military political independence towards the former colonial powers. Here some West German press reports on this:

"It is clear why African states turn to Bonn and not to Paris or London... They turn to a country which is not tainted by colonialism."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 June 1963)

The periodical of the West German Marine Association, writes:

For the African countries "Germany, which has had no colonial possessions for forty years and is thus not tainted, was predestined to commit itself in Africa in a special sphere. There is resentment towards the colonial powers. If representatives of these countries return - the African governments say - they at least instinctively think in colonial conceptions. The Germans are expected to be free of this."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1964, pages 327-329)

The facts however convict West German neo-colonialism of untruths and deception.

It is a fact that

- *the Federal Republic of West Germany does not grant military "aid" against the interests of the former colonial powers, or for the consolidation of the striving for national independence,*
- *the colonial powers called upon the Federal Republic of West Germany for increased military "aid",*
- *no military "aid" is given without the approval of the former colonial powers concerned,*

- the former colonial powers exploit the hypocritical anti-colonialism of the Federal Republic of West Germany to regain military influence in their former colonial territories by way of this imperialist power.

The American newspaper Evening Star wrote on 29 November 1963:

"West Germany has been specifically authorized by the Atlantic Alliance to grant military aid to Africa and other countries; the simple reason is that no other western country is as well suited for these tasks. West Germany is free from the blemish of colonial rule . . ."

Neues Afrika, Bonn, reported in its September 1964 issue on page 325:

"But the allies have explicitly asked the Federal Republic to become effective in Africa; in addition the various projects are coordinated with the allies."

The naval periodical Leinen los made known:

"Bonn would nevertheless not have committed itself if it had resulted in differences with the western partners. But there are no differences of opinion. The allies have explicitly called upon the Federal Republic to do something in Africa, because they themselves are not in a position to meet all demands. Moreover, they are not able to carry out projects in some areas because of their 'colonial past'. In practice the plans are coordinated with the USA. Programs which concern former British possessions are discussed with the British; the same applies to the French."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1964, pages 327-329)

Finally the West German illustrated Stern reports in No. 41/1963:

"There are not a few people in the West who are happy that (West) Germany has achieved these African contacts. Possibly other western countries - burdened with the odium of colonialism - would not have succeeded in this."

In order to eliminate the last doubts on the colonialist character of

West German military "aid" for the young states of Africa, it must be noted that West German deliveries also include arms of the former colonial powers. In this connection West Germany acts as transfer centre for the arms trade of the NATO countries.

"In its budget plan for 1965 the Federal Ministry of Defence – as in preceding years – gives no specific information on what this aid is composed of in detail, aid which not only provides for the delivery of German, American and British arms and other military equipment."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 June 1964)

Historical Retrospect on Military Plans and Operations of the German Imperialists

The Federal Republic of West Germany has significant colonialist militarist traditions in Africa and Asia; they are still deep-rooted and represent an important element of present-day military "aid". Conditioned by the fact that the rest of the world was almost entirely divided up, the attempts at expansion of German business circles aiming at colonial profits were already directed before the beginning of this century towards the African territories which were not yet divided up among the imperialist powers.

The African population courageously opposed the conquest and offered stout resistance to the German colonial army. In the Cameroons the German colonial government used the warships 'Bismarck' and 'Olga' to suppress rebellions. The Bakwiri tribe was able to preserve its independence for ten years (until 1895); only in 1901 was German domination consolidated throughout the country. In 1897–98 the oppressed Africans revolted in Togo; many of them were slaughtered in "penal expeditions". In East Africa the German colonial militarist Wissmann was responsible for terrible blood-baths. In 1889 he suppressed a rebellion of the Arabs who ruled the coast. Inside the country the resident tribes opposed the German colonial troops in many battles in 1891–1893 and 1905–1906. The heroic resistance put up by the

Hereros and Namas ("Hottentots") in South-West Africa has gone into the history of the continent as a flaming beacon. From 1904 to 1907 – for three years – they kept the German colonial army in check after a number of previous rebellions.

Wherever the African population resisted the theft of their soil, their herds of cattle and other means of existence, they were shot down without mercy by the colonial army or left to die of hunger or thirst.

The monstrous sadism of the German colonial masters is expressed in a declaration sent on 2 October 1904 by German General von Trotha to the Hereros:

"The people of the Hereros must now leave the country. Within the German borders every Herero – with or without gun, with or without cattle – will be shot. I do not take in any more women or children, I drive them back to their people or have them shot at."

(General Anzeiger für Dortmund und das gesamte rheinisch-westfälische Industriegebiet, Dortmund, 6 March 1931)

This proclamation was read out at every roll-call of the troops, which then acted according to the instructions of their commander-in-chief. The Hereros – men, women and children – were driven by the thousands into the then entirely dried up Kalahari steppe. Later on they were found there; they had died wretchedly of hunger and thirst. With their hands they had dug 15-to-20-metre-deep holes into the sand to find water. About 80,000 Hereros died in this methodical extermination action which no longer had anything to do with warfare.

An official military record reports:

"The sealing-off of the sand field, carried out for months with iron severity, completed the work of annihilation . . . The corpses lay by the hundreds close to each other and on top of one another . . . in particular in the thick underwood . . . everything suggests that the withdrawal was a march of death . . ."

The report ends cynically by saying:

"The penal expedition had completed its task. The Hereros had ceased to be an independent tribe."

(Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I des Großen Generalstabes, Die Kämpfe der deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika, vol. I: "The campaign against the Hereros", Berlin, 1906, page 214)

The Namas waged a bitter partisan war in which there were thousands of victims.

According to minimum estimates a total of 150,000 Africans were killed by the German colonial army.

In 1914 German imperialism set about to divide the world anew by force – it headed directly to war as a means of realizing its plans. The openly announced aims of expansion in Europe consisted of the conquest of Belgium, Luxemburg, Northern France and large parts of Russia. Outside of Europe they were directed towards the Near and Middle East, North and Central Africa.

Even in 1917, when it had already become obvious that the war was lost for the German imperialists, they did not give up the hope of maintaining and even expanding their colonial possessions. This was expressed by the historian Hans Delbrück, as follows:

"If our victory is big enough we may hope to unite the whole of Central Africa with our old South-West in our hands."

The outcome of the First World War, however, prevented German imperialism from carrying out these plans. Imperialist Germany lost all its previously-owned colonies; they were divided up among the imperialist victor powers.

Thus German imperialism did not give up its colonies voluntarily; it was forced to do so by the imperialist victors as a result of the lost war.

The program of expansion of the Hitler fascists also included the "acquisition" of colonies.

In 1940 the former Hitler diplomat Hasso von Etzdorff, formerly ministerial director in the Bonn Foreign Office and until recently

ambassador of the Federal Republic of West Germany in London; drafted a plan according to which French and the Belgian Congo, French-Equatorial Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana (Gold Coast), Dahomey, a part of Kenya and the former German colonies were to become possessions of German imperialism.

He worked closely with the supreme command of the navy which demanded "bases for the defence of the colonial empire" in an exchange of documents with the Foreign Office. A map of the supreme command of the navy shows the plan in detail. An accompanying letter of 27 July 1940 says:

"The following demands for bases of the naval command is based on the supposition that so far only French and Belgian colonial territory comes into question for the establishment of a cohesive German colonial empire in Central Africa in addition to the former German colonies of Togo, Cameroons and German East-Africa. Only a few British bases, which seem to be particularly suitable for German purposes and are situated in the sphere of the prospective new German colonial empire are entered in case the future political development allows their acquisition."

(Deutsches Zentralarchiv Potsdam, Bestand Auswärtiges Amt, Akte Pol. 61120, Blätter 1–8, Aktenzeichen Pol. XII 904 gRs.)

To German imperialism the high-sounding phrase "future political development" simply meant military conquest. In this connection the naval command called for the "acquisition" of the following harbours and islands: Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Duala, Pointe Noire, Boma, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Mombasa-Kilindini, Diego Suarez; along with Fernando Po, Sao Thomé, St. Helena, Mauritius and the other islands in the same area, and finally as re-fuelling bases the Azores and the Canary Islands (*Ibid.*).

These proposals of the naval high command served as the basis for the 4 September 1940 colonial plan of Hitler diplomat Etzdorff, who took up every one of the naval authorities' demands.

Madagascar, which, with the exception of the Diego Suarez naval base, was not included as a desired German colony on the map of the naval high command, was also demanded by the German imperialists. For a time it was planned to use the island as a deportation colony.

Since trans-Saharan Africa was unattainable for the German imperialists it was planned to begin with the military conquest of all the countries of North Africa and the Near and Middle East. In secret directive No. 32 of July 1941 to the chiefs of the different branches the supreme command of the fascist Wehrmacht set the start of the conquest of the Suez Canal Zone and Egypt for November 1941. For this purpose the "Deutsche Afrika-Korps" of the fascist Wehrmacht was organized under the command of Field Marshal General Rommel. The subjugation of Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Iran and Iraq and the occupation of important positions in the Persian Gulf were also planned.

The military planning of these operations was in the hands of the operations department of the army general staff headed by the Hitler General Heusinger, later inspector-general of the Bonn Bundeswehr. Heusinger was convicted as a war criminal, but released before his sentence was served and he rapidly regained his authority in West Germany.

The Arab peoples were formally assured their independence, but in consideration of Italy and to conceal German intentions, declarations in this connection were kept as vague as possible.

"It should be easy for us to gain influence in a greater Arab empire, considering the Arab antipathy to the British and Italians."

(Deutsches Zentralarchiv Potsdam, Bestand Auswärtiges Amt, Pol. Abt., Geheime Reichssache, Akten betreffend Arabien, No. 61 123, Blatt 27)

The plan was that the German troops occupy Basra, and the Japanese, Ceylon, which would make them joint rulers of the Persian Gulf. Afterwards Germany and Japan wanted to exploit the oil resources on Bahrain and on the Arab-Iranian mainland (Ibid., Blätter 182 f. and 303 ff.)

A "Deutsche Orient-Korps" analogous to the "Deutsche Afrika-

Korps" was to be set up for the military advance into the Near and Middle East. The organizational preparations were in full swing in 1941. There was already a "staff of plenipotentiaries for the Arab countries" headed by the envoy Dr. Grobba. Its task was

"the political preparation of the German advance in the Arab area and, after successful entry, the execution of German policy on the spot".

(Ibid., Blatt 29)

Grobba's staff included the then legation counsellor Dr. Hans Ulrich Granow, who long worked to strengthen Bonn's ties with the South African racist fascists as West German ambassador to the Republic of South Africa and is now ambassador to Sweden (ibid., Blatt 192).

Granow travelled to Baghdad with Grobba to make preparations for the German actions and was appointed liaison man between Grobba's staff and the staff of Hitler General Felmy in Athens. The latter was in charge of forming an Arab "instruction" department (Arab "Freedom" Corps), in which members of the Arab peoples were organized and given military training under German officers. They were to be smuggled into the Arab countries later and fight for the interests of German imperialism.

There also existed a special intelligence unit led by a certain Major Tittmann which trained agents in subversion for terrorist activities in Africa, the Arab countries and the rest of Asia. To carry out their espionage activities they were given radio and weapons training and special instruction in the customs and languages of the different countries. For the 3rd school company of this unit, this task was carried out by none other than the present West German war minister, Kai Uwe von Hassel. After a brief British internment at the start of the war he returned directly to Germany from Tanganyika and passed on his colonial experience and his knowledge of Swahili to the Hitler special agents.

Also under Grobba's staff was the "Arab Committee", which included, along with Granow, the then legation counsellor and later Bonn ambassador to India, Dr. Wilhelm Melchers (ibid.).

This committee was responsible for propaganda questions, for propagating acts of sabotage, rebellions, making ideological preparations for aggression, etc.

Melchers worked closely with fascist organizations setting up German underground activities in the Middle East. A report dated 11 September 1943 and bearing Melcher's signature states:

"The claim that Germans are illegally in Iran and have been dropped by parachute in considerable numbers is based on fact. The SD (SS security service – the authors), working together with Defence II, has begun a series of enterprises with the aim of dropping parachute agents by plane to various parts of Iran. These agents were to work among the Kashgais and Lures and with their help, carry out attacks on transports and acts of sabotage against the railway and highways. The agents there were in direct radio contact with the homeland. They agitated, for example, to influence the impending elections to the Iranian parliament by means of bribery."

(Ibid., Akten betreffend Iran, No. 61 138, Blatt 150)

In order to win Turkey as a military ally for the colonialist aggression of German imperialism the German government promised Turkey a part of Syria (Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, Bestand Auswärtiges Amt, Akten betreffend Arabien No. 61 123 Blatt 19).

That nothing came of this and that the Federal Republic can pose today as an anti-colonial power is due to the defeat of German imperialism in the Second World War.

These colonial traditions are again playing an important role at present. The memory of the unsatisfied colonial ambitions of the past is consciously being kept alive and nurtured among the population of the Federal Republic of West Germany as a basis for the spreading of ideas designed to create enthusiasm for the expansion now being carried on by means of military "aid". Thus the presence of West German military personnel in Nigeria is linked with the peak periods of German colonial history:

"For the first time since the imperial Askaris of the Prussian colonial General von Lettow-Vorbeck, 45 years ago, regular African troops are being commanded by German professional soldiers.

"The Nigerian Air Force Training Centre in the militarist Islamic Kaduna is the first base of a Federal German military aid program in Africa, to be followed at the end of January by a second one in Tanganyika."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 46/1964, pp. 124-127)

In their exuberance over the growing military penetration of the African countries the Federal Republic of West Germany does not balk at wounding the dignity of the Africans. The heroes who fell in the struggle against German colonialism are ridiculed and their children and grandchildren are presented as traitors and deserters who jest about the death of their ancestors and pay homage to German colonial traditions:

"A tribal chief visiting the Kaduna barracks found the Germans splendid, although Lettow-Vorbeck's colonial troopers had executed his grandfather. 'If the Germans shot Grandpa', he suggested, 'he must have deserved it'."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 46/1964, pp. 124-127)

Military Subversion and Disruption by Bonn

The military apparatus plays a decisive part in the stabilization of the relations of power in the young African states. Crippling it, penetrating and disrupting it through imperialist agents can negate the achievements of the national liberation movement. The Federal Republic of West Germany with its military "aid" hopes to profit from this situation in the interests of imperialism.

The West German public is sanctimoniously told:

"We do not want to influence the internal development of these three states in any way. Nor do we demand that these young African states decide between the blocs."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 November 1962)

At the same time, the specialized journals make no bones about the fact that military "aid" is closely connected with "the relations of political power", "zones of influence", "civil wars" and "partisan struggles".

"It is clear what this military aid means for the relations of political power, for alliances, pacts, bases, zones of influence, military budgets and the whole complex of international military policy. It affects the political struggles, the civil wars, partisan struggles, the intellectual, social and economic relations. In short, it is a significant, perhaps a decisive part of the political and strategic operation of the great powers of our time and of their position in world affairs."

(*Soldat und Technik*, Frankfurt, 12/1963, p. 676)

West German imperialism is particularly interested in reaching the "basis of power" in each African state and bringing the officers under its influence:

"Every government will feel particularly close ties with the country that helps build up its own basis of power. In many developing countries officers and soldiers rise high above the general educational level and exercise a strong political influence. The direction of this influence is of decisive importance."

(*Soldat und Technik*, Frankfurt, 12/1963, p. 676)

"The more responsibility and power is transferred to African officers the more the free world should be interested in having these officers trained in its spirit."

(*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 January 1965)

There are many examples of the connection between West German military "aid" and the intended sharpening of internal political conflicts and the provocation of border conflicts in various African countries.

Nigeria:

"Bonn is building up Nigeria's air force with 60 planes of German manufacture. For a civil war is still impending in Nigeria. And it will be carried on with German arms."

(Ullstein "BZ", West Berlin, 7 January 1965)

"For the West, and hence for the Federal Republic, the motivation (for "military aid" – the authors) is clear: It must be interested in

maintaining internal stability in the still far from firmly consolidated African states; and not only for political reasons. After all, the economic interests and investments of western countries in Africa are things which the states must be capable of protecting. Nigeria with its recent troubles gives a good example of the correctness of this thesis." (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 1 January 1965)

Ethiopia:

"In Ethiopia the Federal Republic together with the United States is building up the border guard, the units that exchange shots now and then with the Somalis."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 21 February 1965)

Somalia:

In this country the NATO powers have left the field to the Federal Republic of West Germany as the sole imperialist power. After the other western powers had stopped their military aid to Somalia, it was left to West Germany to continue to support with military equipment those the forces in the country whom it hoped would prevent progressive developments and who rely on the police apparatus.

"The (West) German police program, however, continues, since the police leans towards the West and the Army towards the East."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1965, pp. 327-329)

Tanzania:

Without giving a true picture of the situation in Tanzania, and by slandering the anti-imperialist stand of President Nyerere, the aggravation of inner conflicts by Bonn military "aid" is reported as follows:

"In Bonn's view it is a matter of strengthening the position of President Nyerere of Tanganyika. He wants close contacts with the West. Zanzibar, on the other hand, although it also belongs to the East African Republic, has up to now been backing the eastern bloc."

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 30 July 1964)

And they have the impertinence to announce that interference in the internal affairs of Tanzania was only undertaken after West German war minister von Hassel had pointed out the "need" for such action.

"The hesitant secret Military Aid Committee of the Bundestag was won over by the defence minister with the claim that Tanzania's Prime Minister Julius Nyerere could hold his own against the Zanzibar communists only with German military support."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965, p. 24)

"Since 1961, when the independence wave in Africa reached its peak, the federal government has been sending weapons abroad to prevent a GDR inroad into the Black Continent."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965, p. 24)

And on the interference of the West German Federal Republic in the internal affairs of Tanzania:

"The pact with Tanganyika is particularly risky. Developments in this country are unpredictable. But it is hoped that President Nyerere will be able to hold his own and will be in a position to 'tame' the island of Zanzibar, in which the Zone (the GDR is meant – the authors) has gained a strong foothold. Tanganyika-Zanzibar is a particularly clear example of the political intentions of the Federal Republic to put the brakes on communist influence."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1965, pp. 327–329)

Here too, the supposed communist threat is dragged in to mask the real intentions of the West German federal government, the aim of which is to prevent the African states from strengthening their national independence.

Typical of the aggressive character of the military "aid" is the fact that it is used to support those forces in the countries that are opposed to the cementing of friendly relations with the GDR. Military "aid" is at the same time one of the main instruments for the prevention of these relations.

The Approaching Debacle of West German Military "Aid"

Although the aggressive circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany expect great things from the neo-colonialist effectiveness of West German military "aid", events have revealed the limits of this new in-

strument. The African states are becoming increasingly aware of the acute dangers which necessarily arise for them and the national sovereignty of their countries from West German military "aid", and they are beginning – like Tanzania – to free themselves from the military grip by demonstratively terminating military "aid" pacts. But the aggressive circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany are also gravely worried about West German weapons and military know-how being used against imperialism for the liberation of Africa from colonial servitude.

The high hopes originally placed in military "aid" as a means of neo-colonialist penetration are revealed when it is described as the "most advantageous kind" of development aid for the West German Federal Republic.

"They say that no kind of development aid has proved to have such advantageous effects on relations with the African countries as weapons aid."

(Westfälische Rundschau, Dortmund, 12 November 1964)

The West German government also expects foreign policy gains from military "aid". Through a supposed strengthening of their military potential, the young African states were to be hitched to the wagon of aggressive West German foreign policy.

"The federal government has been using the arms business as an instrument of foreign policy for ten years."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965, p. 24)

It is bluntly stressed that the federal republic is pursuing political goals with its trade in weapons and its training "aid".

"The promises given by the Federal Republic are of a military nature. In essence, however, it is a political action."

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 30 July 1964)

But the military "aid", planned as the most effective instrument for carrying out the aggressive West German foreign policy, is on the rocks. The government of Tanzania, when West German military "aid" was

made dependent on its interference in German internal affairs and the prevention of the establishment of a GDR consulate-general in Dar es Salaam, publicly protested against this Bonn attempt at blackmail. It renounced all further West German development "aid" when Bonn stopped military "aid" as "punishment" for Tanzania's resistance to the West German policy of extortion.

The report of a West German magazine on these events is a mixture of utter stupidity, disappointment over the unsuccessful blackmail and the exposure of the Federal Republic of West Germany in the eyes of the world:

"The Bonn parliamentarians approved about 40 million marks (for Tanzania – the authors). With this the (West German war) minister wanted to deliver six coastal patrol boats and 25 aircraft (training, transport and reconnaissance craft) to Tanzania and he sent 52 soldiers and technicians to the Indian Ocean for three years as instructors.

"Hardly had Bundeswehr troops arrived with four boats and eight Piaggio P-149 training planes, when Nyerere . . . authorized the GDR diplomats already accredited on the island of Zanzibar to jump over to the mainland. In the middle of last week the Federal Republic replied by recalling the German military mission . . ."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965, p. 24)

The resigned comment on this chapter of West German military "aid":

"This was the second time within a month, after the fuss about arms aid to Israel that brought Walter Ulbricht an invitation to the Nile, that the German military and arms export had experienced a debacle."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965, p. 24)

Acceptance of West German military "aid" brings with it grave threats to the political independence and internal anti-imperialist unity of the African states. It means taking a great risk. But at the same time it is also necessary to recognize the weakness of this, the strongest instrument of the Federal Republic of West Germany against the African states.

Military "Aid" as a Lucrative Business

In addition to its main functions – to serve the aggressive foreign policy of the Federal Republic of West Germany, stage civil wars in the African countries and integrate these countries in the policy of NATO, military "aid" also has a subsidiary function. Through it the arms trusts make huge profits; through it the inevitable losses in the arms budget of the Federal Republic of West Germany are partially compensated for.

The basis of this function is the West German Federal Republic's drive for atomic weapons and the resultant change-over, the replacement of conventional weapons with missiles and other equipment necessary for atomic armament. In regard to conventional equipment, which would otherwise have to be scrapped, military "aid" to the African countries offers for the first time the large-scale opportunity to sell it at good prices and turn them to political advantage.

The West German Naval Association magazine writes candidly,

"a modern army like the Bundeswehr replaces its equipment every 8 to 10 years. What is to be done with the material that is freed? It can be placed at the disposal of countries whose armed forces are being organized. This "military sloughing off" often arises . . . Bonn, too, is now faced with such consequences. It was quite clear that no scrap and no material that did not function could be delivered. Otherwise the Federal Republic's desired results could not be attained. These results are primarily of a political nature."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1965, pp. 327–329)

Elsewhere it is stressed that military "aid" is never distributed free of charge, that an income entry for repayment is already included in the 1965 budget. Military "aid" thus indirectly serves to finance West German armament and steps up the armament of the Federal Republic of West Germany for aggressive purposes.

"The Federal Republic does not give armaments aid as an allowance:

often it is rather the form of a loan that is chosen. Part of the arms money thus later flows back into the defence budget and is booked as income. Providently, there is already such an income entry in the 1965 budget."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 June 1964)

Another form of this lucrative weapons business is the construction of arms factories in the consumer countries themselves. The first plants of this kind were built in Nigeria and the Sudan. They produce rifles and ammunition. In view of the fact that labour power in these countries, compared with West German wage standards, is exceptionally cheap, whereas the price per rifle is to correspond to that of products hitherto delivered from West Germany (minus transport costs), fantastic profits are to be expected. In addition to this, when the rifles produced through exploitation of cheap labour power go into serial production, it is planned to import them into West Germany itself and to re-export them to other African countries. It is not surprising therefore that as soon as the project became known sharp competition began between the West German arms producers. The Nigeria project, as was to be expected, was won by a subsidiary of a leading arms trust (the Siemens group), which also provided itself with financial support not only from the strongest banking group but also from public funds.

"To fill an urgent need, the first weapons factory south of the Sahara on the Black Continent is being built by Germans. The first "made in Nigeria" rifles will leave the plant in the coming year.

"The stubbornly denied project was contrived by the Heckler & Kock arms factory in Oberndorf on the Neckar. The plant produces the G 3/NATO rifle, the most modern gun in the western world. The Bundeswehr is armed with it and is presently training 80 Nigerian soldiers in Germany."

But the Oberndorf factory proved financially too weak to do the job.

"Immediately the Fritz-Werner-AG in Berlin, the principal stock-holders in the Berliner Industriebank are the federal government and the West Berlin senate, sprang into the breach. Its subsidiary in Geisenheim, Fritz Werner Fertigung GmbH, which specializes in

machines for the production of arms and ammunition, will present the Africans with the new gun foundries."

(Stern, Hamburg, 41/1963)

The subsidiary of another arms trust also describes its "sales chances" in the Afro-Asian countries as "very good". It is also considering, alongside lucrative arms deliveries, production in the consumer countries. It is likewise planning to exploit primarily the "natives" who are to do only the least qualified work.

"The 'Waffen- und Luftrüstung AG' wants to sell rockets of all kinds, torpedo-boat destroyers and entire arms factories. The firm, founded in Hamburg in February of this year with a capital which has risen to 150,000 marks, will offer its wares particularly to the developing countries."

"The chairman of the company's board of directors, Richard Stengler, described the sales chances of the firm as very good on 4 December . . .

"Among the plans of the company is also the construction of factories for weapons of all kinds in the developing countries. In connection with this the company is to promise to train the necessary workers for work in these factories. According to Stengler, however, it is not intended to train skilled workers. The natives will rather only be partially trained for specific single processes for assembly-line production."

(AP, 4 December 1963)

The connection between lucrative business and military "aid" is expressed finally in their motivation as a means to the "power-political protection" of the West German capital invested in the Afro-Asian countries against nationalization measures by the young states. Military "aid" here becomes an instrument of interference in the internal affairs of these countries and an obstacle to their economic progress.

"Hence it is not true that one need only fold one's tent in Africa for right to triumph and to make room for liberty. Therefore power-political protection as well as investments are indispensable."

(Wehr und Wirtschaft, 3/1960)

Military "aid" has become the most important means of "power-political protection".

"German military aid for developing countries must be seen from the angle of efforts towards political influence and stabilization . . . in its agreements with several African states the Federal Republic also takes into consideration the fact that military forces are an important factor for the security of these countries. Their support will inevitably provide new guarantees for German investments and decisively reduce the political investment risk."

(Politik und Wirtschaft, 14 June 1963)

Along with the above-mentioned "subsidiary function" of military "aid", the "complementary effect" is also of importance for the neo-colonialist expansion of the Federal Republic of West Germany. This is understood in West Germany to mean that as a matter of experience military "aid" leads to an increase in West German goods exports whereby additional profits are made.

"German exports also benefit from some 'complementary effects'. At first, German businessmen in Africa were unpleasantly surprised when the Bundeswehr appeared as the supplier of certain goods. But the Defence Ministry said they should wait six months. It then became apparent that the German company representatives could go along the path marked by the Bundeswehr. They sold more than ever. So the civilian market was not spoiled - on the contrary."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1964, pp. 327-329)

So the military "aid" of the Federal Republic of West Germany has proved to be not only a great danger to the political and military development of the African states, but at the same time a means of economically weakening these countries, increasing the deficit in their balance of trade, increasing their foreign obligations, decreasing their reserves of foreign exchange, in short, retarding social and economic progress and sabotaging the struggle for economic independence, which has become the most important task of the national liberation movement in the present stage.

IV. Development "Aid" as an Instrument of Political Tutelage

The aggressive circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany and West Berlin are carrying on a policy of interference in the internal affairs and violation of the sovereignty of the independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America which is contrary to international law. Supported by their huge economic potential, built up in the post-war years with loans and gifts from the American Marshall Plan, in order to strengthen the economic power of world imperialism to back up its claims to sovereignty over the countries freed from imperialism, they take advantage of the tragic heritage of colonial exploitation and oppression for their political ends in alliance with colonial powers of all shades, they bring economic and political pressure to bear on the countries concerned and blackmail them.

So although military "aid" at present embodies, as shown, the most dangerous specific instrument of the neo-colonialist expansion of West German imperialism, it remains subordinate to the Bonn development "aid" which is supported by West Germany's huge economic potential, to its economic and technical "aid" which has become Bonn's principal instrument for violating the sovereignty of the independent Afro-Asian and Latin American states, for interfering in internal affairs and for carrying out a policy of pressure and extortion. Bonn's development "aid" takes on a particularly aggressive character by being combined with the Hallstein doctrine, by which the neutral Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are supposed to be forced to take sides on the German question in the sense of the West German "forward strategy" on pain of economic and political sanctions.

Other important instruments, coupled with development "aid", are the so-called capital protection agreements; these are unequal agreements forced upon the young states which limit the power of their governments to dispose of the West German capital invested abroad and

prevent its nationalization, in order to hinder social progress. Among these are measures to force the return of German monopoly possessions confiscated during the Second World War in the Latin American and Afro-Asian countries. Further important instruments are those used by the Federal Republic of West Germany to raise their aggressive policy to a higher power with the aid of international imperialist organizations such as the EEC and the World Bank. Finally, the Federal Republic finances a number of institutes and organizations whose task is to carry on subversive activity in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Deliberate lies:

In order to dupe the peoples, the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of West Germany, when they speak of development "aid", make use of such terms as "altruism" and "humanitarian" views. They try to make it appear that they want to help the young national states to solve their problems. They enjoy the pose of "disinterestedness" and of "unconditional readiness to help". On 11 January 1964 West German Minister for Development "Aid" Walter Scheel declared over the West Berlin radio station SFB that Bonn's relations with the young national states are governed by the basic idea of eliminating the "flagrant discrepancy" in living standards between them and the "highly developed peoples".

The West German foreign minister also made a statement to the effect that the development "aid" has no political strings attached:

"We do not want to influence the internal development of these free states. Nor do we demand that these young African states decide between the blocs."

(Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder, Südwestfunk, 5 November 1962 and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 November 1962)

"There are no political conditions for our credits."

(Minister for Development "Aid" Walter Scheel, Norddeutscher Rundfunk, 14 December 1964)

"The development aid of the Federal Republic as a matter of principle has no political strings attached."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 9 January 1963)

Admissions

These claims are refuted by other statements which come much nearer to the truth and reveal the real motives of Bonn's development "aid".

Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder of the Federal Republic:

"We are in fact looking after our own interests when we visit these countries, and we do not mean charity." The idea is "to win over these countries, as far as possible, to intercede for our political aims".

(SFB – Free Berlin Broadcasting Station – cited in National-Zeitung Berlin, 21 May 1964)

Former West German Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano:

"I can state with all frankness that decisions on the form, extent and place of our development aid must largely be determined by political considerations."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 10 July 1962)

Minister for Development "Aid" Walter Scheel:

"Development policy should serve to offer our help to those countries in the world that are our friends and that we feel will make something out of this instrument together with us . . ."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 4 March 1965)

"A state which denies our most elementary rights . . . cannot expect us to subsidize this stand with our tax money."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 9 January 1963)

State Secretary Friedrich Karl Vialon of the Development "Aid" Ministry:

Development aid by the Federal Republic must "to a larger extent be based on political motives".

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 17 May 1963)

Ministerial Director Horst Dumke of the Development Aid Ministry:

"... development policy is to find ways and means to establish close cooperation and long-term relations between the developing countries and the Federal Republic which in turn are to achieve a number of foreign political objectives of the Federal Republic such as reunification, non-recognition of the Soviet zone (meaning the GDR – the authors) and non-inclusion of the developing countries in the Eastern sphere of interest."

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 23 March 1964, supplement)

General Secretary Oskar Splett of the "German Africa Society":

"As a matter of fact German development aid was granted in a concentrated form . . . according to political needs in the true sense of the word. On the one hand it was necessary to facilitate a return for those governments which moved from absolute neutrality to so-called 'positive neutrality' mostly tantamount to an espousal of the Eastern bloc (Guinea) or to prevent such a foreign political trend (Tanganjika) or to support a positive neutrality toward the Western bloc (Sudan, Madagaskar). This is no misuse of development aid but its proper integration . . ."

(Aussenpolitik, Stuttgart, 10/1962, p. 682)

Federal President Heinrich Lübke:

Bonn is "all the more pleased to aid Brazil since the government of that country not only voices understanding but also support for our German interests . . ." Also "to us support for our most important national concerns by friendly states is indispensable".

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 12 May 1964)

The "national interests" referred to by Heinrich Lübke are in fact the aggressive schemes to eliminate the other German state already liberated from imperialism, the German Democratic Republic. The true national interests of the German people demand that precautions be

taken so that never again is a new war started from German soil. The reunification of the two German states is only possible in an atmosphere of peace, relaxation and disarmament; its prerequisite is the removal of the anti-national German imperialism and militarism that constitutes a danger to peace, and whose exponents are today holding power in Bonn. Reunification can only be achieved through negotiations between the governments of the two German states, based on the recognition of existing realities; it is exclusively an affair of the German people. Any attempt to draw the independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America into these complicated problems is a threat to their neutrality and a heavy political burden.

In fact West German development "aid" is a means

of hindering the Afro-Asian and Latin America states from making their own foreign policy decisions,

of inducing them to give up their policy of neutrality and getting them to follow the West German government's policy,

of waging an "economic preventive war" against the Afro-Asian and Latin America states as conceived by aggressive circles in West Germany and West Berlin,

of implementing their "security policy", that is their aspiration for political power. Financing them is therefore identified with expenditures for armament. Like war itself, development "aid" is officially defined as "a continuation of foreign policy with other means".

Here is the evidence:

Continuation of Foreign Policy with Other Means

"The trend in Schröder's ministry is to shift the responsibility for development aid completely to the Bonn Foreign Office and to consider it as a 'continuation of foreign policy with other means'."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27–28 February 1965)

Preventive Economic War

"Did development aid not mean fighting from the very beginning? Retrospectively one will discover that the ideology of development aid . . . was a sort of preventive economic war."
(Ibid.)

Atomic Bombs and Economic "Aid" Have the Same Significance

Experts point to the strategic plans of imperialism advocating the viewpoint "that foreign aid is no less important than the atomic bomb".

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 April 1958)

Development Policy Is Military Policy

"We should regard development policy as part and parcel of our security policy and of our efforts to pursue long-term political goals."
(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 4 March 1965)

Threat to the Non-aligned States

"The non-aligned states should now realize that they cannot simply ignore Western ideals and objectives if they claim development aid . . .

"If Western development aid in general is being given a stronger political accent this should apply in the first place to that of the Federal Republic."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 18 September 1961)

Political Objectives Instead of Humanitarian Aspects

" . . . to give development aid for purely humanitarian and charitable reasons free of any political strings and aims is a doubtful standpoint. Such a philanthropic attitude by the Western world would no longer be believed by anybody . . ."

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 19 January 1962)

Development "Aid" Falls under Armament Expenditures

"Development aid is one of the major weapons in the battle for a free world - ('free' is to be understood as the world rule of imperialism - the authors) . . . and that is why the corresponding means are expenditures for defence."

(Kieler Nachrichten, 20 February 1961)

Political Calculations Instead of "Humanitarian Sentimentality"

Development "aid" expert Professor K. Hesse demands:

"Development aid without humanitarian sentimentality but with political aspects predominating . . ."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 October 1960)

Economic Bragging and Political Influence

"Economically we are the strongest state in Central Europe. The former victors join the queue behind our money chests - all are indebted to us."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 October 1961)

"The huge amounts of financial aid we grant clearly offer the possibility of exercising political influence . . ."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27-28 February 1965)

The "Junctim" between Development "Aid" and the Hallstein Doctrine

Although the economic "aid" given by the Federal Republic of West Germany as regards its basic objectives coincides with that of all other imperialist states, it has its own specific character resulting from the West German ruling circles' grasping for power.

For the aggressive forces in the Federal Republic who were militarily defeated in the Second World War but still hold the political strings with the help of the USA and other imperialist powers, the revision of the results of the Second World War continues to be the axiom of their home and foreign policy. The Federal Republic is the only country in Europe to make territorial claims on other states, on Czechoslovakia,

Poland and the Soviet Union. Above all, however, their aggressive schemes are directed against the GDR, the German territory liberated from imperialism. It has been the declared aim of the Federal Republic from the very first day of its foundation to liquidate this anti-imperialist German state, the GDR.

To this end the West German government in Bonn has been stepping up armament for years. West German military leaders are in key positions in the NATO command. Step by step they are approaching control over and production of atomic weapons.

To put into practice their aggressive designs the ruling circles in the Federal Republic and West Berlin are trying to win over the Afro-Asian and Latin American states with demagogic, lies, political and economic pressure. The obstructive and dangerous character of these aggressive plans is underlined by the following statements by leading West German politicians and influential newspapers:

Former inspector-general of the Bundeswehr and war criminal Adolf Heusinger:

"The common enemy of the free world is imperialist communism which can never be changed but only be destroyed."

(Deutsche Woche, Munich, 23 October 1957)

This is an open challenge to attack the GDR and other socialist countries.

Federal Chancellor Erhard said on 22 March 1964 when addressing leaders of the revanchist "Landsmannschaften" organizations:

Bonn considers that "no new legal realities were created" after the Second World War.

(Deutscher Ostdienst, 26 March 1964)

This affirmation serves to justify revanchism morally and in international law.

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, former chancellor and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, the West German government party:

"The Federal Republic has made unmistakably clear on several occasions that it does not recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier as state border and that it cannot put up with . . . the unilateral separation of the German eastern territories. It considers these areas as German territory."

(From the protocol of the Bundestag, Bonn, 2 October 1954, p. 1501)

This is advocating aggression!

"We are on the way to regaining the Soviet zone (meaning the GDR - the authors) as soon as the Western world is strong enough."

(DPA, 16 November 1954)

This is open war propaganda!

In a memorandum the Bundeswehr command stated:

"A unilateral renunciation of nuclear equipment of the shield forces makes the defence of the Federal Republic impossible. The Bundeswehr must be equipped with weapons as effective as those of the other allied forces . . ."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, No. 155, 20 September 1960)

"Without the possession of atomic weapons nobody can dream of restoring Germany within its historic and national borders."

(Deutsche Woche, Munich, 1 January 1962)

This is an open demand by the West German nazi generals for atomic armament.

Foreign Minister Schröder also admitted that striving for nuclear arms is a fundamental feature of Bonn's policy. He declared:

"The MLF is no final state but the beginning of a development which will be determined by the Federal Republic."

(Deutsche Zeitung, 7 October 1963)

Franz-Josef Strauss, the former Bonn war minister:

"We live in a technical age and the united force of our allies is strong enough to wipe the Soviet Union off the map."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 14 November 1956)

Strauss wants to "restore German hegemony on the continent".

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 February 1958)

In other words, joint control over atomic weapons within NATO is regarded only as a spring-board by Bonn for its own control and production of nuclear arms. This means that in the final analysis Bonn wants a nuclear war for the sake of its revenge-seeking policy. Relations with the young national states are also designed to serve these aggressive aims. That is why Bonn disregards the policy of neutrality pursued by the young national states and is trying to bind them to its own aggressive policy.

To this end development "aid" is being linked with the so-called Hallstein doctrine. This doctrine contains the illegal and presumptuous claim by the Bonn government to be the sole legitimate representative of the German people. Any state which does not bow to this presumption but takes account of the real existence of two German states with all its political consequences, is threatened with political and economic sanctions such as the rupture of diplomatic relations and the discontinuation of economic "aid". He, who does not give in to the dictates of Bonn will be punished. Sanctions are imposed on those states which adopt a neutral position, which reject the so-called good behaviour clause and interference in inner-German problems "according to the magnitude of offence", beginning with threats to stop economic "aid" to cuts and its final termination.

"...development aid" is the "most effective means to implement the Hallstein doctrine".

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27–28 February 1965)

Due to its combination with the Hallstein doctrine West German development "aid" is an especially aggressive neo-colonialist instrument

- *for carrying out the aggressive foreign policy and foreign economic objectives of the Federal Republic,*
- *of threats and extortion in violation of international law,*
- *of disrespect for the people's right of self-determination and the violation of national sovereignty,*

- of international penalization in the event the countries reject dictation and conduct a policy of neutrality.

Here is the evidence:

The Hallstein Doctrine Subjects the World to Bonn's Command

"It has never happened before . . . that a state, which is not particularly large and powerful, has prescribed to the whole world: If I do not recognize someone, neither are you permitted to do so. This is done neither by the Arab states nor by mighty America."

"But for years the federal Germans have prescribed such regulations to the whole world without realizing that thereby they have reduced the whole world to Bonn's command. They even add to this in the most rude barrack-square tone: A state which violates the Federal Republic's ban on dealings with the GDR will be penalized by economic sanctions or with the breaking off of diplomatic relations according to the severity of the violation."

(Sebastian Haffner in Stern, Hamburg, 22 February 1965)

Graduated Measures from Case to Case

West German Ambassador Grewe, who played a leading role in working out the doctrine, reported on the origin and codification of the Hallstein doctrine:

"On the second day of the ambassadors' conference, on 9 December, all ambassadors and ministerial officials present agreed to the principle . . . that the establishment of diplomatic relations and the recognition (de jure or de facto) of the GDR by third states is to be regarded as an unfriendly act against the Federal Republic which would be met with graduated measures from case to case."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 30)

Means of Deterrence – Like the Atomic Bomb

It was left to no other than the president of the Bonn Bundestag to compare so clearly the intimidating effect of the Hallstein doctrine with that of the atomic bomb. He declared in an interview:

"The constructive value of the Hallstein doctrine lies exactly there where the value of the..."

SPIEGEL: atomic bomb lies.

GERSTENMAIER: Yes, namely, in deterrence.

... the doctrine must therefore be applied precisely for this purpose."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 37)

Means of Retaliation

A case of "successful" application of the Hallstein doctrine against an African country was triumphantly reported:

"Bonn's massive retaliation was successful. No other state has since then established diplomatic relations with Pankow. The deterrence is effective, however, only because the loss of a West German ambassador means the simultaneous loss of West German credits."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 32)

The Hallstein Doctrine as a Means of Pressure

"The necessity of preventing international recognition of the GDR also means that we must exert pressure on many other states..."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 38)

Brutal Financial Extortion

"The Federal Republic has bought its right of exclusive representation in the neutral world with marks..."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 32)

Recognition of the Hallstein Doctrine Determines the Amount of Development "Aid"

"Moreover, it should be a future aim to differentiate the extent and category of capital aid – and technical aid ... according to the degree of the friendly attitude shown by the individual states towards the Federal Republic, and in particular, according to their standpoint on Berlin and the German problem..."

"On such a basis the development aid will be an excellent means of foreign policy."

(Neues Afrika, Munich, 1, 1963, p. 7)

The Doctrine in Action

With the irresistible strengthening of the national liberation movements and the increasing success of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples in the struggle to consolidate their political, and achieve their economic independence, the number of countries pursuing a policy of neutrality, of non-alignment on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence is constantly growing. This is a natural development which world imperialism does not have the power to stop. In the course of consistently carrying out the policy of neutrality many Afro-Asian states have seen the establishment of relations with the German Democratic Republic, on the same basis and in addition to existing diplomatic contact with the Federal Republic of West Germany, as an obvious step. The decision on the necessity and usefulness of establishing diplomatic relations is alone the internal affair of the country itself. The interference of third powers in such procedures constitutes a flagrant violation of the peoples' right of self-determination. Nevertheless, Bonn has for years attempted to blackmail all countries wishing to establish normal diplomatic contacts with the GDR by threatening them with withdrawal of economic "aid" and the breaking off of diplomatic relations. Especially prominent were Bonn threats against Guinea, Ghana, the UAR and other Arab states as well as Ceylon and Tanzania.

Mali:

State Secretary Lahr declared in 1962 that the federal government decided at a secret session to make the signing of an association agreement with 18 Afro-Malagasy states dependent on the adherence of these states to the Hallstein doctrine.

In the name of the federal government he stated in this connection:

"1. In case Mali recognizes the German Soviet zone, (the GDR is

- meant – the authors) before the association agreement is signed, the Bonn government will on its part refuse to ratify the agreement.*
- "2. Should the recognition by Mali occur during the signing of the partnership agreement and its ratification by their parliaments, the German Bundestag will on its part presumably not ratify the agreement.*

- "3. Should the German Soviet zone be recognized by Mali following ratification by the national parliament, the Bonn government would thus consider blocking the German contribution to the European development fund."*

(Archiv der Gegenwart, Bonn-Vienna-Zurich, No. 10 254 A)

The Deutsche Bauernzeitung of Cologne commented sarcastically in its issue of 29 November 1962:

"The young states like to take advantage of children's privileges. They try to play dumber than they are. This not only gives them pleasure . . . they wish to take advantage of being Common Market Associates, but to be fair is too much for them . . . and the development funds of the Common Market, in which they wish to participate during the next five years, have just been increased to 730 million dollars, nearly three thousand million marks.

"One-third of this is paid by the Federal Republic. This should be reason enough for the recipient to respect our political tabus. This was probably too much to expect from the Malinese, for which the Africa-Common Market agreement remains for the time being without the Bonn signature."

Guinea:

Bonn reacted with arrogance when Guinea attempted to break through the Hallstein doctrine in March 1960:

"We can get along very well without a Sékou Touré. But it is very doubtful whether he can long survive without western economic aid."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 10 March 1960)

Ghana:

Bonn blackmail policy was also practised against Ghana:

"Twenty million marks . . . This is the amount the West African Republic of Ghana wants in credit from the Federal Republic . . . Before one grants Ghana . . . twenty million in credit, the German policy of Ghana should be examined.

"It is questionable, no, it is no longer questionable, whether Ghana with its present government . . . is worthy of credit from the federal government. Perhaps, if no other country had an interest in German development aid, one could give Ghana the twenty million.

"But even then it would be still better to throw the money into the sea. One would then at least hear the splash."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 27 January 1963)

A spokesman of the federal government "recalled that the Federal Republic grants development aid with no political strings attached: 'We respect the neutrality of developing countries, but if a government uses the theses of communist propaganda against the Federal Republic, then it violates our conception of neutrality.' In such a case the federal government would probably be forced to re-examine the question of additional development aid for such a country."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 27 February 1963 – from the article "Slander Campaign in Ghana")

" . . . the present position of Ghana has nothing more to do with neutrality and the famous 'non-alignment' . . . We know only that the German taxpayer can no longer be asked to participate in development aid for a country which constantly slanders the federal government. This is contrary to our vital interests.

"The German public has in the meantime become aware of the hostile attitude of Ghana towards us. The Foreign Office spokesman told journalists recently that with a continued hostile attitude of

Ghana the federal government must give serious thought as to whether or not it can continue its present development policy . . ."
(Neues Afrika, 3/1963, p. 88)

Ceylon:

During the visit of the GDR government delegation to Ceylon in February 1964 the two countries agreed to establish consular relations and to raise the GDR Trade Mission in Colombo to the status of Consulate-General. The ruling circles of West Germany reacted with reproaches:

"...the eleven million Ceylonese have received more development aid per head of the population from us than India or Pakistan - for the sake of friendship and goodwill, as it is stated in a German-Ceylonese agreement."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 19 February 1964, Edition B)

and threats:

"As a matter of necessity this position of the Ceylonese government must have an influence on German-Ceylonese relations which the federal government has always strived to cultivate. It has been made particularly impossible for the federal government to continue economic aid to Ceylon in the manner wished by both sides and to justify it before the German people."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 21 February 1964)

"...Do we want to continue extending economic aid to the states which ignore our vital political interests? Ceylon placed us before this question . . . In future diplomatic relations we would have to renounce the right of exclusive representation if we accept the Soviet zone (the GDR is meant - the authors) Consulate-General in Ceylon . . . Anyone who still wishes a change of course in our foreign policy should frankly say so. Those who, like us, reject this, must demand that the federal government let the government of Ceylon know in

the proper form that a hostile act cannot be perpetrated against us without consequences . . ."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 19 February 1964, Edition B)

The Bonn cabinet decided in typical neo-colonialist form in February 1964 to discontinue economic "aid" to Ceylon. At the same time West German circles launched attacks against Ceylon's right of self-determination, insulted the people of Ceylon and demanded that they bow to the dictates of Bonn.

"Bonn should learn from the Ceylonese example that from the very first the credit receiver, who at any rate is insecure and unreliable, must be made aware of the fact that our good money is not simply to be handed out, but is bound to a certain loyalty . . ."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, Stuttgart, 21 February 1964)

UAR:

The blackmail attempts against the UAR on the occasion of the state visit of Council of State Chairman Walter Ulbricht to the UAR in February 1965 formed the climax thus far in the policy of interference in the internal affairs of the young national states of Asia and Africa by the Federal Republic with the help of the Hallstein doctrine.

Never before had the diametrically opposed interests of Bonn on the one hand and the UAR on the other met head-on so sharply.

The intrigues and blackmail attempts against the UAR were crowned by the Bonn government with an open act of hostility. The impudent interference in the internal affairs of a free, sovereign state was followed by the attempt to injure the economy of the UAR by means of a stroke of power, for in reality this is hidden behind the West German blackmail manoeuvre. Thus Federal Chancellor Erhard decided on 7 March 1965:

" . . . The invitation by the government of the UAR and its acceptance by Ulbricht has been answered by the Federal Republic with the stopping of economic aid. This means that the Federal Republic will not participate in the second Egyptian five-year plan. It will also not

participate in the preparatory negotiations. The Federal Republic will extend no further capital assistance to the UAR and refuses to include Egypt in a new ceiling for long-term state guaranteed credit; the current projects – of course under application of the principles of international law – will be subjected to re-examination . . .”

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8 March 1965)

From the very beginning the ruling circles in Bonn attempted to do everything in their power to prevent Walter Ulbricht's visit. Because the UAR government refused to support the Bonn right of exclusive representation, and because the UAR pursues a policy in the interest of its nation, it is subjected to massive attacks from Bonn. The means employed range from threats, blackmail, attempts to directly interfere in the internal affairs of the countries up to the slander of leading personalities in the United Arab Republic.

Bonn's real aims were characterized in *Die Welt* as follows:

“. . . The (West) German interest lies in the claim that the Federal Republic is the sole representative of Germany. This claim has to be fought for . . .”

(*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 15 February 1965, Edition B)

Bonn sticks at nothing to maintain this claim. The same newspaper demanded "a proper (West) German answer" to the visit of Walter Ulbricht. Chancellor Erhard considered the invitation to Ulbricht to be a "hostile act" and threatened to stop economic "aid" after the visit. He further threatened:

"Political steps will be reserved by us."

(*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 18 February 1965)

The Foreign Office in Bonn reacted in the same way. Almost all West German newspapers demanded sanctions against the United Arab Republic in a similar form. The *Kölnische Rundschau* of 8 February 1965 openly said what Bonn intends to do:

"The answer, if Nasser translates his threats into action, must be the stopping of economic aid and the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Egypt."

This was also confirmed by the Munich Süddeutsche Zeitung on 16 February 1965:

"If the Ulbricht visit to Cairo takes place it would result in an end to all economic help by the Federal Republic to Egypt."

The Social Democratic Party's Berliner Stimme also demands that through so-called economic aid political advantages shall be obtained. The paper calls for "understanding" of the Bonn policy of revenge:

"... In the last few years a large amount of money has flowed from Bonn into the construction funds of the United Arab Republic. To demand gratitude for this would even be too much of a good thing. But one could easily expect understanding for the German situation after such an amount of money has been spent. The invitation extended to Ulbricht is a slap in the face to this justified expectation. The federal government consequently would have to refuse any further aid to the UAR if Nasser allows himself to go so far as to make the visit a spontaneous demonstration of friendship . . ."

(Berliner Stimme, West Berlin, 30 January 1965)

Der Kurier wants to prescribe to Nasser how far he may go:

"... There is nothing else for the federal government to do than to make absolutely clear through adequate measures that Nasser's steps do not represent any trifles but that he has really gone too far."

(Der Kurier, West Berlin, 29 January 1965)

The Federal Republic threatened the United Arab Republic with the rupture of diplomatic relations. Former Federal Chancellor Adenauer was of the opinion that the Federal Republic

"should apply the Hallstein doctrine towards the UAR in all its stringent forms, that is, to break off relations."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 17 February 1965)

The Industriekurier also demanded the consistent application of the Hallstein doctrine:

"... What is Bonn actually waiting for? And it is not enough that we restrict ourselves to the cessation of future economic aid for Egypt

with Bonn even not yet having decided how long the current aid agreements shall be carried out. If ever there was a case for the strict application of the Hallstein doctrine it is now. The state visit should have been answered with the immediate breaking off of diplomatic relations. This would have been a lesson which in Cairo and other Arab capitals would undoubtedly have been understood . . . "

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 27 February 1965)

In West Germany, however, there are not only supporters of the Hallstein doctrine but there are also forces emerging to oppose the Bonn claim to be the sole representative of Germany as unrealistic and illusory.

In this connection the Zeitschrift für Geopolitik asks:

"Are people still asleep on the Rhine? The manoeuvre of luring people with the carrot and stick, of withheld development credits has been tried by quite other people before, for instance by Dulles when granting money for the Aswan dam. What was then the result of the Aswan affair should be well known in Bonn. At any rate Nasser stands less isolated today than ever and will endure such threats probably with even less detriment than in 1956, 1958 and 1964. However, Bonn, which thus far has emerged unscathed from such political total defeats of decolonialization as the Suez affair, seems now to be experiencing its Middle East Waterloo – in any case it has sought it with all its force . . ."

(Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, Bellnhausen über Gladenbach, Hesse, 3 April 1965)

Tanzania:

The latest attempts to blackmail Tanzania are a direct continuation of similar measures applied by Bonn against the People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba shortly after its foundation in 1964 in order to prevent the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the GDR.

The Stuttgarter Zeitung of 15 February 1964 demanded:

"... We should renounce moral support of such people as the new rulers on Zanzibar."

Yet the West German government hesitated. It speculated on the fact that the situation on the island could still change. The agreement for the GDR ambassador issued by the Zanzibar government on 20 February 1964 put an end to the wishful thinking of the Bonn government.

A "gift" to Zanzibar by the Bonn government was made dependent on the non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic:

"Two tractors with mounted implements for the cultivation of rice and also the necessary operator, all in all representing a value of 100,000 marks, are waiting to be shipped to Zanzibar Yet the federal government does not know whether it really should deliver this promised independence gift to the former Sultanate's government..."

"But the federal government sticks closely to the Hallstein doctrine which allows only a limited freedom of action. Therefore, faithful to its doctrine, it can only deliver the gift if it is absolutely clear that the Soviet zone (meaning the GDR - the authors) is not recognized by the regime on the island..."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 15 February 1964)

As soon as the government of Tanzania agreed to the establishment of a GDR consulate-general in Dar es Salaam on 19 February 1965 the Bonn government discontinued all its military "aid" to Tanzania and also threatened to stop economic "aid".

"... He (Nyerere) has allowed it (the establishment of a GDR consulate-general). The warning of Erhard must therefore be executed. The reaction of Bonn must now follow with impressive western speed ... We, however, have enough possibilities for all this money which we can afford to spend on development aid to make it useful in other places. This lesson has become necessary. It must be given promptly and impressively..."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 February 1965)

Tanzania did not allow itself to be blackmailed and called on the Federal Republic on 28 February 1965 to stop immediately all its aid

to Tanzania. President Nyerere stated on 27 March 1965 that the Hallstein doctrine was a clumsy principle. He was determinedly counteracting the Federal Republic because it had tried to use its aid to put the country under trusteeship. In connection with the latest events it is also admitted that the Federal Republic had linked its aid to the country with political strings right from the beginning. The West German and West Berlin monopoly press slanders President Nyerere in a typically imperialist manner:

"... If Nyerere considered it to be beneath his dignity to accept aid connected with conditions, then it is incomprehensible why he accepted German aid at all, which right from the beginning was connected with the non-recognition of the zone (meaning the GDR – the authors), either on a general diplomatic or on a consular level..."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 20 March 1965)

The same newspaper is not afraid to describe this policy of blackmail as "true partnership". It slanders the independent policy of the Tanzania government and demands that the Bonn government should be even more uncompromising:

"... This case shows once again that in some African states radical anti-white slogans outweigh true partnership. The current crisis should be a salutary experience for the Federal Republic, which in relation to Tanzania has shown too much patience and timidity; demonstrating that firmness, severity and self-confidence are more to Africans than money."

(Ibid.)

Making Use of Collective Colonialist Institutions

The ruling circles of West Germany particularly like to make use of the strength of world imperialism brought together in collective colonialist institutions for the implementation of their aggressive and blackmailing policy towards the independent African, Arab, Asian and Latin American states. In this way they magnify the political pressure

exerted on the young national states and thus make it effective where their own political and economic power would not suffice to reach their neo-colonialist aims alone.

West Germany is an influential member in all important institutions of collective colonialism, for instance, in

- *the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) with 150 million dollars as original capital. The West German Federal Bank in cooperation with West German private banks has become one of the most important credit grantors to the World Bank in the last few years,*
- *the International Development Agency, where its capital amounts to 53 million dollars,*
- *the International Finance Corporation with 3.7 million dollars,*
- *the European Economic Community (Common Market) in which 18 African states are associated members. The share of the Federal Republic in the development funds of the EEC is more than 30 per cent. From 1958 to 1962 Bonn invested 800 million marks in this fund and during the period from 1964 to 1968 it plans to invest 986 million marks,*
- *the Aid India Club, in which West Germany has a share of almost 20 per cent and from 1961 to 1965 invested some 425 million dollars.*

The real influence of Bonn on these institutions, however, is greater than its capital shares. In the last few years an average of 20 per cent of all orders distributed by the World Bank were given to West Germany (Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, Baden-Baden, II/A 30, p. 198), although West Germany's original capital amounts to only 5.07 per cent. The West German contribution in any case represents a means by which the aggressive circles of the Federal Republic can make use of these collective colonialist institutions at any time to pursue their own neo-colonialist policy. At the same time they consider these institutions, with their anonymity, as a way to camouflage themselves and their blackmailing policy:

"The multilateral promotional measures are especially suitable, particularly if 'anonymous aid' is granted. The multilateral capital aid, above all, prevents the danger that an individual donor country is suspected of wanting to exercise a political influence on the receiving country."

(Former Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano in
Entwicklungsänder, Baden-Baden, 2/1960, pp. 39-40)

West German Development "Aid" Minister Walter Scheel characterized even more clearly this neo-colonialist tactic of camouflaging the pressure which is exerted by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic on the sovereign Afro-Asian and Latin American states by means of collective colonialist institutions:

"A special advantage of promotion through multilateral organizations, of which the developing countries are members, is the possibility to exert a sufficiently strong pressure on them to implement the necessary social reforms and structural changes. Such a pressure can hardly be exerted bilaterally since we would then be confronted with the charge of neo-colonialism."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung,
Bonn, 1 March 1963)

In particular with the Common Market and its neo-colonialist association system it has become obvious in the last few months how the Erhard government also profits from the potentials of other imperialist powers combined in this economic bloc in order to put pressure on the young national states, restrict their freedom of action in foreign policy and impose the aggressive course of the Bonn policy on them. At the same time the West German tactics aim at disrupting the unity of the African and Arab peoples in particular and to play them off against each other.

When in 1962 the EEC negotiated with 18 African states on the continuation of the association, the West German spokesman, State Secretary Lahr declared that the federal government had decided during a secret meeting to make the signing of the association agreement with the 18 African countries dependent on the observance of the Hallstein

doctrine by these states. (Compare the wording of Lahr's statement in chapter IV, the section entitled: "The Doctrine in Action.")

The West German government then obtained a decision in the EEC council accepting the West German demands for all associated states.

How the Common Market is utilized for West Germany's policy of interference and pressure was also proved in the spring of 1965 in connection with the reaction of the Arab states to the increased support of the imperialist bridge-head Israel by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic. The Erhard government developed a feverish activity to split the unity of the Arab states with the help of the agitation of special envoys, with the help of promised credits and bribery and finally by threats and pressure.

"Even without strong hints from Bonn it should be clear to the Arabs that the Federal Republic could on its part meet Arab retaliation measures for its establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel with economic retaliation."

(Neue Ruhr-Zeitung, Essen, 10 March 1965)

The activity of the Erhard government concentrated especially on the Maghreb states. Bonn sent Alfried Krupp personally to Tunisia "to examine investment projects worthy of aid" so that he could make use of his Angolan experience there. The Bonn government used the circumstance that the Maghreb states had been confronted with a difficult economic problem by EEC protectionism and that they must compensate for their present preferences in trade with France by an agreement with the EEC which had threatened to abolish them.

"It is clear that the Federal Republic can prevent a settlement of this important problem for the Maghreb in the Brussels Council of Ministers (the Common Market), if Algeria were to break off diplomatic relations with Bonn or invite Ulbricht for a state visit."

(Neue Ruhr-Zeitung, Essen, 10 March 1965)

A mouthpiece of the West German big bourgeoisie emphasizes these extortionist threats:

"At the same time the opinion was carefully spread in Bonn that

Algeria's desire to join the Common Market could be thwarted by a veto of the Federal Republic."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 14 April 1965)

In one single phrase a West German newspaper sums up the part played today by collective colonialist institutions like the Common Market in realizing Bonn's re-colonialization plans. Referring to the blackmailing divisionist activity carried out by the West German government in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, the Neue Ruhr-Zeitung, Essen, writes on 10 March 1965:

"The example shows that the Common Market is quite useful as a lever for Bonn..."

Shattered Hopes

The realization of the existence of two German states is making itself increasingly felt since the GDR is continuously gaining in political and economic weight on the one hand and the neo-colonialist policy of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic is being increasingly exposed on the other.

The Hallstein doctrine is a child of the cold war. Today it has no prospect of success whatsoever. This doctrine has been watered down in practice to such an extent that its total and final breakdown is only a question of time.

This is realized even in the Federal Republic. Under the headline: "The Hallstein Doctrine - a Frying Pan in Front of the Sun" it is reported:

"For ten years the Hallstein doctrine was the supreme law of Bonn foreign policy. A Soviet statesman called it an attempt 'to cover the sun with a frying pan'. Carlo Schmid called it 'dogma of Federal Republican foreign policy'. The Christian Democratic state party held it in honour like a fetish. It has cost the West German state thousands of millions of marks."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 29)

Also in the Federal Republic one cannot avoid pointing in this connection, to the increasing economic strength of the GDR:

"In addition, the GDR as an industrial power is becoming increasingly important for the rest of the world, including our allies. Therefore we increasingly get into difficulties with the Hallstein doctrine."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, pp. 37-38)

In a swan song about the Hallstein doctrine the terms "bribe money", "blackmail payment" and "threat of punishment" are openly used and two factors are named as causes of the complete failure of the Hallstein doctrine:

"... Firstly in most states the adherence to the Hallstein doctrine has for many years in reality no longer been enforced by threat of punishment but has been bought with bribe money. Secondly, in spite of that, it has been nimbly evaded by most states for the whole time.

"The bribe money and blackmail payments to enforce the Hallstein doctrine are continuously increasing and become more and more burdensome. Yet the evasions become more numerous and open.

"Under these conditions, would it not be more dignified and sensible to forestall the unavoidable and voluntarily annul the Hallstein doctrine as long one can still do it voluntarily . . ."

(Sebastian Haffner in Stern, Hamburg, 20 February 1965)

The fiasco becomes particularly obvious in some Arab countries. Their consistent anti-imperialist position is therefore called "infectious recognition disease" and the end of the Hallstein doctrine is predicted:

"The federal government is determined, in this situation with Egypt, to go through what is generally called the Hallstein doctrine again - the breaking off of diplomatic relations. However, Chancellor Erhard and his Foreign Minister Schröder know full well that the infectious recognition disease can no longer be localized with such means. The end of the Hallstein era has come."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 33)

The complete failure of the claim to represent the whole of Germany is certified to the Federal Republic in other places, too.

Therefore "the Federal Republic stands before a heap of rubble. It suffers heavy political and perhaps also considerable financial and economic losses. But Bonn suffers a setback not only in the Near East, but also in its Germany policy, in the claim to represent the whole of Germany."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 16 March 1965)

The fate of the Hallstein doctrine is painted in just as sombre colours in other African countries:

"The possibilities of the Black Africans to actively assist Bonn politically, perhaps in the question of reuniting Germany are as slight as is their interest in this. The whole continent in any case is devoted to neutralism..."

"The routine at the wall for African visitors to (West) Germany (meant are the pilgrimages to the GDR state frontier organized by Bonn - the authors) can no more be called a success of Bonn development 'aid' as the wall photographs which sometimes appear in African newspapers. Their publication, as a rule, is paid for with advertisements by (West) German firms, with the (West) German embassy acting as intermediary."

"After Bonn insisted on closing the East Berlin Zanzibar embassy in Tanganyika (meaning the embassy of the GDR - the authors), Nigeria's West African Pilot carried a sharp attack. 'For a few marks worth of economic aid Africa shall take sides in the East-West tug-of-war? ... We are to pay for the sins of the nazi forebears, because we are - economically - the children of the Germany of today.' The article was headlined 'Neo-colonialism' and touched a point which is specially sore in Bonn."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 49, 1964)

Further, it became evident that the Hallstein doctrine can no longer be enforced by tying it however closely to economic "aid".

"If the federal government wants further to prevent the reassess-

ment of the GDR it must spend even more of the taxpayers' money. The thirteen thousand million marks of development aid were inadequate for realizing the foreign policy aim of the federal government . . .

"The federal government could continue this policy. But it would pour our money into a bottomless barrel. Even now the frittering away of development aid is questionable for the receiving countries. In Asia development aid per head of the population amounts to 5.50 marks, in Black Africa it is 11.20 marks and in North Africa, that means in the Arab countries, it amounts to not more than 10 marks. And all the federal government was able to achieve with these means was to be the only fully acknowledged diplomatic representative in the developing countries. It could not prevent contacts of these states with the GDR going as far as the exchange of consulates-general and increasing trade relations. After the debacle on the Nile it will be even more difficult for Bonn. The Hallstein doctrine must therefore be considered as obsolete . . . and the feud with the Pankow communists (meaning the government of the GDR - the authors) should not be decided in other continents, where there is nationalist thinking and where little understanding for the all-German situation can be expected."

(*Neue Rhein-Zeitung*, Düsseldorf, 17 February 1965)

However, in Latin America, too, the Hallstein doctrine is suffering decisive defeats. Admittedly, in Colombia the West German ambassador was able to insist on a so-called name and flag prohibition against the GDR on the occasion of the international industrial fair in Bogota, but public opinion opposed this and subsequently "a number of difficulties arose which in the last analysis led to the German ambassador's recall . . ." (*Spandauer Volksblatt*, 7 March 1965).

"The repeated and emphatic démarches of the (West) German ambassador finally resulted in the threat of withdrawing the federal government's participation in the industrial fair. The Colombian side responded by hinting that in that case one would be able to make a larger exhibition area available to the GDR.

"The retreat was inevitable . . .

"The public, hardly informed about the claim for reunification and its conditions in international law, also dissociated itself from the Federal Republic.

"The example shows that conflicts arise not only in Africa, which is increasingly tending to neutralism, but also in western-oriented Latin America. The German problem . . . is being reduced to the simple formula that the de facto existence of two German states must necessarily be followed by de jure recognition. The considerations of the Hallstein doctrine are not understood, but because of it, the Federal Republic loses much sympathy . . ."

(Ibid.)

The GDR works for good relations to be maintained between the two German states and the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. At the same time it is aware of the fact that many countries that want to establish diplomatic relations with it refrain from doing so because they fear economic sanctions by the Federal Republic. Because the GDR's feelings of solidarity and friendship towards the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are strong and constant, the GDR shows an understanding for their difficult situation. It is ready to embark upon ways to a normalization of mutual relations which take into account the interests of those countries and do not burden the relation of confidence with the GDR. Thus a further development of enduring friendly relations between them and the German people is guaranteed.

Capital Protection Agreements Violate Sovereignty

Among the methods of exerting political influence and blackmailing the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries by the ruling circles of the Bonn government are the so-called capital protection or investment promotion agreements. The granting of so-called development "aid" is directly connected with the conclusion of capital protection agreements. Thus "negotiations on capital protection agreements run

parallel to all requests for financial aid by developing countries"; Minister for Development "Aid" Walter Scheel reports (*Zur Entwicklungshilfe, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Betriebswirtschaft*, (West) Berlin, 1962, p. 14).

Countries which are not ready to conclude a capital protection agreement with Bonn are often excluded from this "aid" or it is considerably reduced. Thus, for instance, a de facto investment ban was imposed on Brazil under President Goulart.

"The negotiations, with 250 million marks as development aid to Brazil under discussion, had to be postponed because no final result could be achieved on the protection of private capital investments. The Brazilian government is alone responsible (allegedly - the authors) for this development."

(*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 19 September 1962)

But Bonn did not give up its attempts at blackmailing Brazil.

"Nicely embroidered official statements and a promise to open a second stage of negotiations cannot hide the fact that all endeavours for an investment promotion agreement with Brazil failed. Such a result, after four weeks of negotiations, is all the more regrettable because an agreement with Brazil would have served as a catalyst for similar agreements with Latin America."

"Without protection against expropriation, the guarantee of transfer in the same value, court of arbitration clause, etc., there will hardly be active interest by investors who cannot do without a federal guarantee."

(*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 27 Juli 1964)

In regard to the conclusion of a supplementary agreement on "Technical Aid" with Brazil the *Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 15 October 1964 writes:

"There is a possibility of extending the project in case efforts for an investment promotion agreement are successful . . ."

The so-called treaties between the Bonn state as the representative of the monopolies' interests and the Afro-Asian and Latin American states "for the promotion and protection of capital investments" are demagogically ingeniously camouflaged juridical instruments of West German neo-colonialism. In general they contain the following regulations which are discriminatory for the young national states:

- "1. *German investors must not be more unfavourably placed than home investors or other foreign investors in the country.*
- "2. *Expropriations must not be carried out for any arbitrary reasons... and only with adequate prompt and effective compensation.*
- "3. *The transfer of the compensation must be guaranteed.*"

(Zur Entwicklungshilfe, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Betriebswirtschaft, Berlin 1962, p. 28)

That means in practice that the young national states are deprived of their sovereign right of sole control over their wealth because usually their foreign exchange position does not allow them to fulfil the compensation conditions of the "contracts" in case of a necessary nationalization of resources occupied by foreign monopolies.

The West German monopolies thereby obtain economic and political influence in the treaty states. They have special rights and favourable conditions for their activities and secure their neo-colonialist profits by

- unhindered, even juridically fixed exploitation of raw material sources,
- secured markets and cheap labour power potential,
- "adequate" compensation which is transferrable in case of nationalization,
- unrestricted say in economic policy.

By concluding capital protection agreements the young national states run the risk of importing new capital dependence. At the same time their economic sovereignty is narrowed. Finally, it endangers the principle of neutrality, which is an integral part of the political sovereignty of many Afro-Asian states.

Monopolies Force the Return of Confiscated Property

One of the blackmail demands, the fulfilment of which is a prerequisite for obtaining development "aid" from the West German government, is the return of German trust property confiscated during the Second World War.

"In many parts of the globe they fail to appreciate the interrelation between the fate of German private property during the Second World War and the present attitude of investors."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 22 August 1961)

Before the war there had been very close economic relations, which Bonn today wants to recapture and expand, with Latin America.

The West German positions shall be strengthened through the reactivation of the capital of the former German monopolies. Agreements according to which the confiscated German foreign capital – either partly or completely, in the form of original property or as compensation – has been taken again into West German possession were concluded, among others, with Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Guatemala and Chile.

Under the neo-colonialist device "First compensation, then economic agreements", the Erhard government cleverly took advantage of Chile's foreign debt amounting to 1,800 million dollars at present.

"Chile's parliament recently agreed to the payment of compensation for the property of branches of the Deutsche Überseebank (Banco Alemano Transatlantico) which had been expropriated during the Second World War. Chile will now pay to Deutsche Übersee Bank 1.4 million dollars (that is the equivalent of 5.6 million marks). The granting of compensation is of special importance for future (West) German-Chilean relations. The decision of the parliament paves the way for the signing and ratification of a comprehensive economic agreement between Chile and Germany which is important for Chile's development policy: the present draft agreement which is the result of lengthy German-Chilean negotiations at the end of 1963 provides,

among other things, for the conversion of the first part of a two-year 100-million mark credit into a long-term development credit, and in addition for the granting of an additional 70 million marks in credit by the German Federal Republic."

(Der Volkswirt, Frankfurt, 17 July 1964)

On 17 August 1964 Handelsblatt declared in this connection that not the question of money was decisive, but

"... that the method of dealing with this question was increasingly looked upon as a matter of confidence, as a barometer indicating for the Federal Republic the value or futility of private investments in Chile."

By combining economic aid with the conclusion of agreements on the return of the foreign capital of German monopolies which had been confiscated during the Second World War,

- Bonn is directly interfering in the internal affairs of the countries concerned,
- the political and economic sovereignty of these countries is being restricted,
- capitalist legal norms are to be imposed on Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples as a "criterion" for the basic attitude towards private property,
- neo-colonialist "examples" are to be created.

A special problem arose in Africa where the confiscation of the capital of German monopolies during the Second World War took place under colonial rule. Whereas the former French colonies transferred the clearing amounts to the French motherland to be spent there, the former British colonies concentrated this money mainly in "Development Funds" which were used for the economic penetration of these countries. Whereas the allied powers were trying to curb the expansionist endeavours of the German imperialists by confiscating their foreign capital as a small compensation for the damage done, the German monopolies are today entering this money in their own accounts as "Development Aid". Concerning the above mentioned "Development Funds", the West

German "Studiengesellschaft für privatrechtliche Auslandsinteressen e.V." of Bremen is of the opinion:

"As most of these funds still exist they practically constitute a German cash-advance of development aid, especially if they have been used for infrastructure projects."

(Blick durch die Wirtschaft, Frankfurt, 25 November 1961)

Morocco was the first African country which – on pressure from Bonn – decided in 1960 to return German property, although Morocco's economy had not benefited at all from its expropriation.

"Through this gesture, the Moroccan government is removing an obstacle with which German financial circles had unofficially motivated their refusal to take a share in the Moroccan National Bank for Economic Development . . ."

"Five per cent of the shares as well as the post of vice president had been offered to German financial circles, which did not accept, however, pointing to the confiscated German property."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 19 December 1960)

After the statement on the return of German property, the Deutsche Bank is investing shares in the Banque National pour le Développement Economique and occupies a seat on its board of directors (Blick durch die Wirtschaft, Frankfurt, 18 January 1963).

Economic "Aid" Forces Privileges for West German Enterprises

Economic "aid" is being used to an ever-growing extent as a means of blackmail discriminating against the young merchant fleets of the Latin American and Afro-Asian states to the benefit of West German shipowners. At the same time these countries are being forced to abandon their air-space rights and grant landing permission and the use of air corridors to the (West) German Lufthansa. As the above-mentioned countries are interested in breaking the imperialist transport monopoly and in establishing air and shipping companies of their own, the West German ultimatum violates the economic and political interests

of the peoples affected by the West German-imposed transport dictate. As a result of the obligation to partially use West German transport space, the transport facilities of the young states are often not fully utilized and the cheaper transport facilities offered by the planes and ships of other countries cannot fully be taken advantage of. A typical decision concerning this question was taken by West Germany's leading body for basis decisions on development policies:

"The inter-ministerial steering committee for development policy has agreed to examine how in the case of German development credits the legitimate interests of the German shipowners and the Lufthansa can be protected. The receivers of German development aid should guarantee, as a general principle, the freedom of choice of means of transport, both in ship and air traffic. He who expects capital assistance from the Federal Republic must stop any discrimination against German transport companies."

(Rheinische Post, Cologne, 9 November 1962)

In 1962 State Secretary Friedrich Karl Vialon even announced a further sharpening of Bonn's blackmailing policy:

"The Federal Republic is determined to apply in future very strict standards when granting aid to developing countries. The time of velvet gloves has gone."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1962)

The most important points which were mentioned in particular by Vialon were:

- "1. Developing countries which intentionally carry out a policy of 'flag-discrimination', that is to say, which do not offer the same opportunities to the German merchant fleet as to their own fleet shall in future not enjoy the same favourable conditions as previously.*
- "2. New approvals for developing countries will be given only if questions concerning the landing rights of the Lufthansa are settled at the same time."*

(Ibid.)

In Brazil, West German representatives terminated trade negotiations at short notice to enforce their point of view on the transport question. They stated that they would resume the negotiations only if the West German demands were fulfilled.

"As is well known German-Brazilian talks were broken off recently after having lasted for two months. They will be resumed in due course in Bonn. If they are to be concluded successfully Brazil must change its harsh nationalist and protectionist policy. One cannot expect the Federal Republic to agree that German goods, bought with German development aid money should be transported under the Brazilian flag only."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 31 August 1962)

Special Agencies Arrange for the Political Infiltration of Other Countries

Among the instruments serving the West German government's policy of blackmail and interference in the internal affairs of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, the existence of "political agencies" and "political agents" plays an important role. Their specific task is to influence the internal policy of these countries and the elections in particular, with the aim of bringing to power politicians who are considered by the West German government to be "reliable", that is to say, who can be used by Bonn to expand its influence. These special agencies to influence and interfere in elections

- are officially financed from the Federal Republic's budget,
- their executive boards include West German ministers and other prominent politicians,
- their tasks include the drafting of party programs, tactical plans for the election campaign, the dispatch of vote-manipulator teams experienced in subversive activities, as well as the drafting and financing of governmental programs,
- their activities already cover quite a number of countries,

- they are being used under a precise "division-of-labour-scheme" in accordance with the interests of other imperialist powers, especially the United States. Under the hypocritical mask of anti-colonialism they are especially employed in countries which are trying to withdraw from the imperialist sphere of influence and carry out an independent national policy.

The alarming events in Chile, Guatemala, Venezuela and Bolivia are proof of this.

Bonn Prevents Popular Front Government in Chile

"Although Eduard Frei, candidate of the Christian Democrats, won the absolute majority, the candidate of the Popular Front, Salvador Allende, won 46 per cent of all votes. What would have been the result of the elections if the Christian Democrats of the Federal Republic had not energetically intervened in favour of Frei, using various means, including money."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 16–17 October 1964)

"In Chile, (West) German vote manipulators headed by Gewandt managed to form a coalition which paved the way for Frei's election victory in 1964 – in a country where a few months ago the takeover by a popular front government seemed to be unavoidable."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 38/1964)

Who Is Heinrich Gewandt?

"Heinrich Gewandt, Christian Democratic member of the Bundestag is trying to deny rumours that he is the secret master of the South American copper state of Chile

"The Chilean press, however, does not accept the assurances of the CDU politician. 'Gewandt has visited our country five times', the evening Ultima Hora writes, 'and every visit has been connected with important political decisions for Chile'."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 116)

"In 1962 Gewandt founded the 'Institute for International Solidarity'. The board of directors of this institute was joined by Federal Ministers von Hassel, Heck and Dollinger. The institute announced as its aim the 'promotion of democratic thinking abroad, and especially in Latin America'."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965)

The aims of this institute are formulated more precisely in the following

"...to influence the economic and social structure of these countries by establishing contacts with young politicians and economists."

(Der Kurier, West Berlin, 13 January 1965)

The "Institute for International Solidarity", a special agency for influencing the internal policy of other states which misuses the term solidarity as a camouflage, is an organ of the CDU, the leading West German government party, and a part of the "Konrad Adenauer Foundation". It is financed by Bonn.

"Through his position in the budget commission of the Bundestag Gewandt succeeded in making available money from the federal budget to subsidize the educational work of non-party organizations. The annual subsidy for the institute: 4.5 million marks."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965)

Proof of Herr Gewandt's hectic activity is the following report issued two years after the institute's foundation.

"The Christian Democratic deputy Gewandt and Molt, the head of the Eichholz Political Academy, recently reported with satisfaction that quite a number of the 250 students who have so far been trained by the 'Institute for International Solidarity' have advanced to top government positions."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 23 December 1964)

It is worth noting who the chairman of the institute is. The West German Echo der Zeit of 3 March 1965 quoted from a speech of the above-mentioned Herr Molt:

"Members of the 'Institute for International Solidarity' are distinguished personalities of the Federal Republic who have made themselves available for this difficult but necessary task in the private scope of development aid - among them is, for instance, Federal Defence Minister Kai Uwe von Hassel, the chairman of the Institute's executive."

Not Only in Latin America . . .

"At the beginning of 1963 emissaries of the State Department established contacts with Gewandt and invited him to Washington. The Hamburg citizen was received by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Vice-President of the United States . . . who gave him the recommendation to try his luck."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12.1965, p. 116)

"Gewandt's institute would never have had a real chance if the Bonn experiment had not attracted the attention of the Americans. Washington was looking for allies in Latin America in its struggle against rapidly growing Fidelism."

(Ibid.)

"Heinrich Gewandt went to work. While the Eichholz Academy - the CDU's school for leader-training near Cologne - established training centres in Caracas, Guatemala City and Santiago de Chile, Gewandt's institute assisted in founding Christian Democratic parties. Other contacts were established with Christian trade unions; for example, the Confederation Latinamericana de Sindicalistas Cristianos (CLASC). Its boss, Emilio Máspero, admitted: 'German Christians are helping us.' In Chile, the CDU's assistance worked out most effectively."

(Ibid.)

... Herr Gewandt Is Also Active in Africa and Asia

"The institute (for international solidarity - the authors) which has at its disposal 4.5 million marks a year is mainly active in Latin America."

(Der Kurier, West Berlin, 13 January 1965)

"Deputy Gewandt is currently in Algeria . . . The deputy took part in the opening ceremony of an institute in Blida which is to train political leaders for African countries."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 April 1965)

The Plans of the Chilean Government – "Made in Bonn"!

"In early February, development assistant Gewandt was able to hint, in a press declaration that filled the whole front page of La Nacion, the government newspaper, that: In Bonn . . . a commission was currently working up a plan which he would present to President Frei in May."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965)

"But the assistance program was not limited only to the election campaign. Chilean politicians and journalists soon noticed that the planned reforms of the new Frei government sometimes resembled Federal German laws to the very wording – a tax reform . . . a balancing of burdens . . . a factory constitution law which provided the workers of the copper and saltpeter mines the right to joint decision-making."

(Ibid.)

The West German Factory Constitution Law Against Bolivian Workers

The West German "Factory Constitution Law" (defining worker-management relations – the authors) which is now to be extended to other countries as well, is in fact the very opposite of an increase in joint decision-making for the workers. A credit of \$ 37.75 million granted to Bolivia in 1961 by the West German government together with the USA and the Inter-American Development Bank, was bound up with stipulations which clearly reveal the true character of the West German "Factory Constitution Law".

"The conditions under which this credit is granted include a complete reorganization of tin mining – especially of the largest mine of Catavi, which has been operating at a big deficit up till now – a modernization of the machine park, the dismissal and resettlement

of the many redundant workers, the exclusion of the workers' leaders from the administrative councils and the restoration of the long-abandoned enterprise discipline; in other words, the restoration of law and order in all of the decaying state enterprises."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 January 1964)

Grasping at Chilean Raw Materials

"But Gewandt maintained complete silence about the financial details of this plan. Then, however, just as soon as Frei won the parliamentary elections last week, the news trickled out of Bonn that the Federal Republic was also undertaking the whole financing of the Frei reforms:

- *Government head Erhard, who corresponds regularly with his colleague Frei, told the Chilean in a confidential letter that he was granting an extraordinary credit of 40 million marks.*
- *The exploitation of Chilean natural resources was to be done by companies jointly owned on a parity basis by the Chilean state and German trusts."*

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965)

The West German Press Confirms Gewandt's Complete Success

"Heinrich Gewandt can boast of helping decisively to achieve victory for Eduardo Frei . . . The man from Hamburg is one of the closest advisers of the Christian Democratic Chilean President Eduardo Frei, who has now been governing for four months."

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, p. 116)

Chile Is Only the Beginning . . .

"The Chilean newspaper El Siglo blustered: 'For the Christian Democrats in Bonn, Chile obviously represents the base from which they want to conquer all of South America.' Gewandt said to SPIEGEL: 'The Communists are not altogether wrong in what they say.'"

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/1965, pp. 116-117)

After all the disclosures on the subversive activities of political agent Heinrich Gewandt and his aides, it is no surprise that he is also a firebrand in the West German Bundestag, where he is one of the most active

champions of the Hallstein doctrine and where he stresses that West German development aid is solely an instrument of the aggressive foreign policy of the Federal Republic, aimed at the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

We cite from the minutes of the Bundestag:

"Deputy Gewandt: In the past, development policy was largely looked upon as a world-wide social policy aimed at erasing the big difference between the industrial countries and the underdeveloped countries; but it has become perfectly clear by now that development policy is above all else an element of foreign policy. As a general rule the deputy recommended that no one be granted development funds who spoke against the vital interests of our country, and that one should be much more cautious with countries whose political position left room for doubt."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 4 March 1965)

The activities of Bonn's political "Special Agencies" are especially weighty evidence of the policies of political blackmail and intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia which the aggressive circles of the Federal Republic and West Berlin have been practising.

V. Development "Aid" as an Instrument of Exploitation and Pillage

The development "aid" of the Federal Republic is not only a means of threats and blackmail; in coordination with all the other forms of foreign economic relations between the Federal Republic and the Afro-Asian countries which it penetrates and controls it has become the most important instrument for exploiting these countries.

In the imperialist system of development "aid", the following functional mechanism may be observed: by means of non-equivalent trade in the capitalist commodity markets, by means of capital and interest payment resulting from the existence of foreign investments and repayment obligations from trade and financial credits, the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are squeezed dry to such an extent that the whole neo-colonialist system of exploitation would collapse if a part of the neo-colonialist profits were not pumped back into the countries in the form of development "aid", so that the system of neo-colonialist profit-making can continue.

Thus we see that the development "aid" serves

- the preservation of the neo-colonialist system politically, militarily and economically,
- the safeguarding and expansion of the system of neo-colonialist profits and the winning of even bigger neo-colonialist profits.

The overwhelming evidence for these facts compels even Bonn to make a partial admission:

"Statisticians have calculated that the size of the losses of the developing countries as a result of the decreasing prices paid for raw materials and foodstuffs on the world market amount to approximately the sum which the western world has given to the developing countries in the same period in the form of financial help."

(Das freie Wort, Bonn, 9 January 1963)

The Federal Republic – Main Beneficiary of Unequal Trade

As the second largest imperialist trading power after the USA, the Federal Republic is also second only to the USA in the benefits it achieves from unequal trade. Economists estimate that Bonn gains a yearly sum of about 2 thousand million marks from the changing terms of trade to its favour – the exchange relations between the alterations in export prices and import prices.

"If one calculates the benefits accruing to West Germany from its foreign trade with the developing countries on the basis of the development in the terms of trade for the capitalist industrial countries, then, on the basis of 1954 price levels an additional neo-colonialist profit of about \$ 470 million was achieved in 1961; for the past ten years, profits ranging from \$ 2 to \$ 3 thousand million can be calculated. With this background, the neo-colonialist economic aid to the developing countries is from the aspect of foreign trade policy primarily a means of maintaining the ability to import West German commodities in developing countries which are completely ruined financially by the price gap."

(Gegenwartsprobleme der internationalen Handelsbeziehungen, Verlag Die Wirtschaft, Berlin, 1964, No. 6, p. 165)

The terms of trade for the capitalist industrialist countries show the following trend (1958 = 100):

	1951	1954	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Terms of trade of the industrial countries	92	96	103	104	105	105	105

(Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, United Nations, New York, 1964, No. 7/July, p. VIII ff.)

The German Economic Institute of Berlin arrives at almost the same results:

"The economically weak countries had to pay an additional 893.1 million marks in 1960 for their imports from West Germany because

of the price increases in effect since 1954; they received 390 million marks less for their exports to West Germany. The additional profits achieved in trade with the economically underdeveloped countries by the West German monopolies amounted therefore to about 1.3 thousand million marks. Based on 1950, they were as high as 3.3 thousand million marks."

(Deutsches Wirtschaftsinstitut, Bericht 23, 1961, p. 9)

Even West German trusts are compelled in their analyses to admit the additional profit of the imperialist countries in their trade with the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, which add up, for the years 1956 to 1961, to about 22 thousand million marks because of decreased raw material prices and about 43 thousand million marks because of increased prices for finished goods (manufactured commodities). Thus, the additional profit is 11 thousand million marks a year (Beihefte der Konjunkturpolitik, West Berlin Heft 9, pp. 13-14).

In comparison with the amount of profits squeezed from this form of unequal trade exchange, constantly growing due to the interest payments on imperialist commodity and financial credits, the non-repayable grants of the Federal Republic within the framework of its development "aid" are completely dwarfed.

They were:

in thousands of millions of marks

in the form of	1950-1955	1956-1960	1961	1962	1963
bilateral payments	0.003	0.104	0.109	0.157	0.165
multilateral payments	0.002	0.375	0.223	0.349	0.046

(Europäische Wirtschaft, Entwicklungsländer, Bonn, Heft 2, 1964)

According to official West German figures, therefore, the development "aid" grants of the Federal Republic did not even amount to one-tenth of the profits gained from its neo-colonialist trade.

As demonstrated here in terms of the price gap, which is the most important but still only one source of the exploitation of the Afro-Asian

countries, the entire economic "aid" program is extraordinarily beneficial to the economy of the Federal Republic and the monopolies which control it. It is above all a means of promoting exports and the export of capital at conditions which are extremely damaging to the receivers.

Economic "Aid" Promotes Exports and Boom Conditions in West Germany

The foreign trade relations with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries have been given the halo of unselfish assistance in the Federal Republic. The unselfish donors outdo one another in their statements about their own willingness to ameliorate misery and poverty – while enriching themselves at the cost of the young nations. These generous helpers grant money – but think only of their own growing profits. The helpful donors pretend to be concerned about the economic independence of the young nations – and never cease to increase their own positions of power in these countries' economies. They smilingly accept praise as exporters of "know how", and hinder economic progress.

Thus we see that for the Federal Republic, economic "aid" is

- the largest "export effort" in its history, directed at an enormous increase in export profits. The largest part of development aid consists of export credits;
- a means of plundering the Afro-Asian countries. It does not serve the needs of the receiving countries;
- a means of capitalist competition. It serves to force other imperialist countries out of the markets of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries;
- a means of hindering inner accumulation in the receiving countries, whose interest payments to the Federal Republic show an unusually high rate of increase;
- a means of stimulating boom conditions in West Germany and transferring crisis symptoms to the economies of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, already severely weakened by neo-colonialist exploitation.

Here are the facts:

During the first reading of the "Law on Tax Policy in Promoting Capital Investments in Developing Countries" in the Bonn Bundestag, the speaker for the CDU/CSU, one of the leading "development aid politicians" admitted frankly:

"The development policy of the Federal Republic is at the same time the largest export effort which (West) Germany has ever made in its entire economic history."

(Minutes of the German Bundestag, 4th Session, stenographic report, vol. 53, 94, 6 November 1963)

An article which analyses the 2.206 thousand million marks in "aid" granted by West Germany in 1963 stresses:

"Strange surprises emerge when one takes a close look at the bilateral aid (2.1 thousand million marks): For example, included in the giant sum of over 2 thousand million marks are 500 million marks in export credits from the private sector of the economy, in other words, payment credits for goods delivered and services rendered. But such credits are quite normal in the export trade. One is compelled to ask what such purely commercial credits actually have to do with development aid . . . an export deal is made, after all, in order to earn money."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 10 July 1964)

One need only add to this the fact that the West German supply firms were and still are largely protected from all losses by government guarantees. And the receivers must pay 5 to 8 per cent interest for this "aid".

"The (West) German industrial firms – and also the Hermes insurance firm as well – have not earned badly at all from this kind of development aid, since of course the commodity and delivery credits bring in a proper amount of interest."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 8 June 1962)

But it is not only a question of earning money with these export credits. The egoism of the West German "development aiders" is ex-

pressed also, in the first instance in their attempts to conquer new markets:

"In their tendency, these credits serve private export sector in its competition for market spheres and therefore have not been of benefit solely or even primarily to the developing countries; nor were they even aimed at their particular needs."

(Zeitschrift der Akademie für Führungskräfte der Wirtschaft, Frankfurt-Bad Harzburg, No. 10, 1961)

The Dangers of Project Commitments and Delivery Commitments

With but few exceptions public West German development "aid" is bound by the principle of project commitment.

This principle is clearly explained in statements by West German politicians and publications:

"The principles for bilateral capital assistance provide especially that the aid may only be utilized for such projects as are recognized by the federal government to be worthy of promotion."

(Statement by the Federal Ministry of Economics in the Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, No. 36, 21 February 1962)

No less important a figure than Minister of Economic "Aid" Scheel stressed the aggressive character of this principle of project commitment:

"We shall not always be able to be guided by the desires of the receiver country in choosing the projects to be promoted by the federal government. For West Germany, other important 'judgment factors' are the 'publicity value of the project for free Germany' and the 'resulting developments in economic relations between free Germany and the receiver country'."

(Federal Minister Scheel at the German Overseas Convention in Hamburg on 7 May 1962, in Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, No. 85, 9 May 1962)

In addition to the clear political accents placed here, the public bilateral credits which Bonn declares to be "aid" to the young states are clearly based on the economic interests of West Germany. No one is surprised therefore, when Dr. Klaus Billerbeck, then an official in the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and now director of the West Berlin Institute for Development Policy, commenting on the importance of foreign trade for the West German economy, states:

"From this perspective, development aid is nothing but a far-sighted market and supply policy."

(Europäische Wirtschaft – Entwicklungsländer, Bonn, No. 11, 11 November 1963)

The egoistic aims which are to be reached with the project commitment are also aimed at with the delivery commitment, in fact, thanks to this foreign trade maxim of German imperialism they are important ways to using development "aid" for the monopolies' exports.

"There is no longer any political dogma according to which (West) German development aid is not linked with delivery commitments, i. e., that the receiving states are not bound to buy at least a part of the financed equipment in the Federal Republic."

(State Secretary Vialon at the session of the German Foundation for Developing Countries on 11 December 1962, Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1962)

A West German government statement addressed to the "Working Group for Developing Countries" which includes all top trade and industrial organization states:

"In 1964, 60 per cent of the bilateral German capital aid was linked with deliveries from the Federal Republic."

(Die Welt, West Berlin – Hamburg, 16 February 1965)

This high percentage of delivery-commited services of West German so-called capital aid was hailed by Federal Minister Walter Scheel as a valuable support – for the German boom:

"I should also mention another aspect of development aid-policy ...

If signs of a certain recession of the boom should become noticeable, development aid is a very good instrument in the hands of the federal government for countering such trends . . . In such a case short-term increase in our promises to the developing countries, in so far as they are linked with deliveries, would increase the demand for investment commodities."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 15 June 1963)

The consequences of delivery commitments for the developing countries and who it really benefits, is stated very frankly by the journal Europäische Wirtschaft – Entwicklungsländer, Bonn, No. 9, 15 September 1963:

"It is by no means always true that the offer of investment commodities of the project financing countries is the cheapest on the world market. And where the supplier nation prevents the receiving country from having access to the cheapest sources by delivery commitments, it will harvest in addition to the aid effect the weeds of a hampered efficiency of the project financed by it, fertilized by the price-raising effect of the supplied goods. In addition, the supplier country moved by the wish to kill two birds with one stone, excessively bleeds the transfer power of its partner. Soft conditions à la USA are hardly anything but a compensation for the price disadvantage of delivery-bound capital aid by low cost financing – and not even a comprehensive one.

"If curing the balance of payments cannot do without delivery commitments then at least a national price jury should see that state capital aid does not work only in favour of the supply industries."

It is often frankly admitted that the "aid" given was first thought of in self-interest. The "unselfish" make capital out of the not easy economic situation in the young states.

"Development aid is the bill for the investment-drunkeness of the day before yesterday. It is well invested. Because only in such a way can we see that the growth of our economy is maintained. We need

big markets for our export-intensive production. One cannot sell anything to poor people, and the economy of the Federal Republic stands or falls with its export efficiency... So it was not hard for the federal state to make balance of payments virtue out of its development policy necessity."

(Europäische Wirtschaft – Entwicklungsländer, Bonn, No. 15/16, 1962)

A considerable part of the money also comes back to West Germany even without explicit delivery commitments. Although, for example, the West German-Peruvian capital aid agreement signed on 4 January 1965 envisages a public tender for the delivery and services for the Tinajones irrigation project, according to the Auslandskurier der Industrie- und Handelskammern und Wirtschaftsverbände, Frankfurt, No. 3, 21 January 1965, those West German building enterprises which already maintain close cooperation with Peruvian building enterprises are given preference.

"It is a widely-spread opinion that by non-bound aid we are financing the foreign trade of other countries... But approximately 80 per cent of the invested sums have returned to us."

(Ministerial Director of the West German Ministry for Development Aid Dr. Sonnenhol on 10 May 1963 before the "Wesertag" in Göttingen, according to the Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe (Handbook of Development Aid) II A 30, p. 198)

Capital "Aid" and Neo-colonialist Usury

The development "aid" of the Federal Republic is an instrument of financial penetration of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. It increases their financial and economic dependence on the Federal Republic. After the liberated peoples have broken and thrown away the coarse iron chains of colonial subjection, the fine, multifarious flexible and almost invisible golden strings of financial dependence are to bind the young states still more effectively to neo-colonialism.

The economic "aid" of the Federal Republic, more than that of other imperialist powers, is almost completely tied to repayment obligations. Its rates of interest are much higher than those of other imperialist powers. The share of "development aid gifts" which are also politically motivated or have a strong export promoting effect, is extraordinarily small and the average of the last years is between 5 and 8 per cent (excluding military aid).

"Only a small percentage of development aid from public sources went to foreign countries in the form of gifts. The main part of German taxes comes home after the credits have expired."

(*Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 8 June 1962)

To intensify the financial penetration of the receiving countries and to increase their dependence on the Federal Republic it is envisaged to reduce still further the already extraordinarily low share of development "aid" which is not subject to repayment. This was announced by competent persons. As a reason for the public, neo-colonialist greed for profits had to be replaced by psychology:

"It is a well-known fact in psychology that one does not always make friends by giving presents but sometimes creates complexes. Therefore, we are increasingly trying to stop giving presents in our development policy and finding new and other forms of aid."

(*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, No. 22, 1 February 1965)

The Federal Republic is not only at the top as concerns repayment, but it also outdoes all other imperialist powers in regard to interest demanded for its development loans, which have now gained the character of neo-colonialist usury. Only 2.7 per cent of development credits by the Federal Republic in 1963 bore an interest rate of from 1 to 3 per cent. More than four-fifths (84 per cent) bore a rate of from 3 to 6 per cent. The Federal Republic together with France, but leading by a wide margin, is the only big capitalist industrial country which demands interest of more than 6 per cent for developing countries. This neo-colonialist usury was charged on 13.4 per cent of all development credits in 1963.

Share of the different rates of interest in
total public bilateral credits agreed upon in 1963

	1 % - 3 %	3 % - 6 %	over 6 %	grants*) and non-accessible means
USA	4.9	26.3	-	68.6
Great Britain	21.1	64.7	-	14.2
France	26.3	64.6	8.3	-
Federal Republic of Germany	2.7	84.1	13.4	-

*) Grants are a specific form of non-repayable aid for indirect military purposes mainly for the support by the USA of pact-bound countries.

Source: OECD, Development Assistance, Efforts and Policies, 1964 review, Paris, 1964, p. 110

Even the West German side has to admit the predatory character of credit aid by the Federal Republic. In an inquiry on the public financial aid of industrial countries to the young states Dr. H. Zimmermann comes to the conclusion as regards West Germany:

"The share of resources at high interest and repayment obligation predominates to an extraordinary degree."

(Öffentliche Finanzhilfen an Entwicklungsländer, West Berlin, 1963, p. 108)

Typical examples are the rates of interest for West German credits to the UAR and Ghana. West Germany demands higher interest from the United Arab Republic than all other imperialist powers. Whereas Italy, Britain, France, Japan, and Holland demand annual interest at 3 to 5 per cent, West Germany demands for

23 % of its loans interest at 7 %

46 % of its loans interest at 5 %

21 % of its loans interest at 3 %

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 27 January 1965)

In Ghana West German credits bear 4 to 6 per cent interest;

24 % of the credits bear 6 % interest

26 % of the credits bear 5.75 % interest

50 % of the credits bear 4 % interest

(Republic of Ghana, The Financial Statement 1963-64,
Table IX)

The following official statement by the Interministerial Committee for Development Policy not only tries to camouflage the West German policy of plunder but even mocks at the victims:

"The Federal Republic is often attacked by the developing countries and also by other supplier countries for its so-called 'hard conditions'. As already emphasized, the federal government rejects any consideration of the receiving country's balance of payment situation because it is of the opinion that soft conditions weaken the morale of the receiving countries and encourage them to neglect the internal financial stability of their currency."

(Zeitschrift für das gesamte Kreditwesen, Frankfurt, 22/1963,
p. 1058)

The especially "hard" credit conditions imposed by the Federal Republic are also visible from data for the following countries:

<i>Malaysia</i>	<i>21.0 million marks</i>	<i>at 5.75 %</i>
	<i>(Bundesanzeiger, 21 January 1964)</i>	
<i>Pakistan</i>	<i>330.0 million marks</i>	<i>at 5.5 %</i>
	<i>(Parlament, No. 34/35, 21 August 1963)</i>	
<i>Thailand</i>	<i>11.0 million marks</i>	<i>at 5.5 %</i>
	<i>(Handelsblatt, 19 October 1963)</i>	

These development "aid" credits at neo-colonialist usurious rates along with the plundering system of non-equivalent trade are another main source for gaining neo-colonialist maximum profits. According to official figures interest paid by the Afro-Asian states to West Germany reached a total of 70 million marks in 1963, after they had doubled within the course of one year. The interest is paid in hard currency from

the already heavily burdened foreign exchange reserves of the Afro-Asian states. These tribute payments should by now have greatly exceeded one hundred million marks. Added to this is a permanent pressure on the receiving countries from the West German side for prompt fulfilment of all obligations in capital and interest payments to win the notation of "good and reliable debtor".

"The developing countries have proved to be reliable debtors. With only few exceptions they regularly fulfilled their repayment and interest obligations. Thus there was a flow back of more than 100 million marks to the federal budget since 1961 when German bilateral development credits were granted to a greater degree. As compared to 1961 interest payments have doubled in 1962 and reached 69.2 million marks."

"Repayments of credits granted before 1960 so far amount to 376 million marks."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 2 March 1963)

Plundering by West German Foreign Enterprises

The third main source for plundering the Afro-Asian countries by the Federal Republic is participations abroad, mainly in the form of subsidiary companies or other sharing companies, of West German monopolies.

Capital investments of West German monopolies in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are aimed at gaining the highest profits, to be reached by

- *the unlimited exploitation of the cheap labour force potential. It is the main source of direct neo-colonialist robbery by the monopolies, often with a profit rate of more than 30 per cent.*
- *the camouflaged theft of native raw materials which are mined or harvested at exceptionally lower costs than those in comparison with the world market and the economy of the countries is for the most part deprived of them;*

- *the displacement of national enterprises and the taking over of the slowly growing internal markets of these countries. The monopolies openly call their foreign enterprises abroad the "germ-cells of the penetration of economic life";*
- *the shifting of labour-intensive and other production not linked to modern technology from the Federal Republic to the young states. The Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are to be prevented from benefiting from the world-wide technical revolution;*
- *support and aid by the state apparatus of the Federal Republic controlled by them, which makes huge tax allowances for the foundation of enterprises abroad.*

Here are the facts:

According to official data, direct private investments abroad had reached 6,576 million marks in mid-1964. This figure comprises only share capital investments.

Of these investments 1,973 million marks, i. e., 30 per cent went to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The main share was invested in Latin America (1,482 million marks = 22.5 per cent). Direct private capital export is concentrated in the various continents in only a few countries. In South America 64 per cent of the total investments in 1963 went to Brazil and 21.8 per cent to Argentina; in Asia 37.9 per cent went to India, in Africa 27 per cent to Liberia and 14.6 per cent to Algeria.

It is frankly admitted in the Federal Republic that capital investment is in the service of profit interests:

"Also here it is a question of decisions by which the German investors want to make money. In most cases they think of establishing themselves in a country which, although it at present has to struggle with economic difficulties, one day will be an enticing consumer market."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 10 July 1964)

The workers employed in the West German share and branch companies in the young states receive much lower pay than is usual in West Germany; the rate of profit is correspondingly high. Commenting on the profit chances in Latin America the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, No. 264, 4 November 1962 said:

"Depending on the political risk, profits of 30 and even more per cent of the turnover (before taxes) can be obtained."

Although the highest neo-colonialist profits is also the main interest of private investment it is by no means the only aim. Government Director Dr. Ulrich Börnstein of the West German Ministry for Development "Aid", explained the tasks of private West German investments in the developing countries as follows:

"To penetrate and expand these markets (the young states) which today to a large extent still belong to the enterprises of the former colonial rulers, requires as a first step, so to speak, the establishment of German foreign settlements. These settlements are the germ-cells of a gradual penetration of the economic life of the countries concerned."

(*Blick durch die Wirtschaft*, Frankfurt, 4 May 1963)

By the export of private as well as state capital, West German monopoly capital has during the past few years taken possession of important raw material resources in the developing countries. Some of the main forms of penetration of West German capital are: participation in international agreements on opening up and exploiting ore deposits, holding shares of monopolies of other capitalist countries, the founding of independent subsidiary companies and mixed companies and the support of these companies with national private and state capital.

The West German monopolies regard the opening up of rich ore deposits in Africa which can easily be exploited by open-cast working and the discovery of new oil deposits in the Sahara area which would mean immense location advantages as important sources of profits. As Dr. Hans-Günther Sohl, general director of the August-Thyssen-Hütte-AG announced:

"In 1975 the blast furnaces in the Ruhr area will be fed from 25 to 30 per cent with ore from African, especially South African mines, in whose exploitation German steel trusts take part".

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 17 February 1965, p. 71)

Important bases for the exploitation of raw material resources can, for instance, be found in

Liberia:

The August-Thyssen-Hütte-AG, the Hoesch-AG, the Dortmund-Hörder-Hüttenunion, the Rheinische Stahlwerke and the Bochumer Verein, (75 per cent), together with the Italian Finsider steel trusts, (25 per cent), run the German-Liberian Mining Company (DELIMCO), which is to open up mining and transport possibilities for iron ore deposits at the cost of 330 million marks. The West German state Credit Institute for Reconstruction gave the Liberian American Swedish Minerals Company (LAMCO) a credit of 200 million marks for a project. In exchange West German steel trusts are being delivered 2.5 million tons of iron ore annually. In a few years West Germany will get more than eight million tons of iron ore a year from Liberia alone.

Gabon:

West German capital (Mannesmann-Konzern) takes part in the exploitation of iron-ore deposits near Mekambo, Gabon. The West German Klöckner-Konzern will participate in the planned exploitation of manganese deposits near Franceville. West German capital closely cooperates with French and American companies in this former French colony. The Krupp-Konzern also takes part in the opening up of ore deposits in Gabon.

Mauretania:

The Thyssen-Konzern is a member of MIFERMA, an international consortium for the exploitation of iron ore in Fort Gouraud. In order to realize this project a railway line was built with the help of a World Bank loan to transport the iron ore to the shore and the Atlantic harbour of Port Etienne was enlarged to be used as an ore harbour.

Guinea:

The international bank consortium Consafrique in which the Deutsche Bank-AG has a leading position, exploits the iron-ore deposits in the Nimba Mountains. With the same aim the Hoesch-Konzern participates with the Companie Minière de Conakry. The Vereinigte Aluminium Werke-AG (West Berlin-Bonn) plays a leading role within the Compagnie Internationale pour la Production de l'Alumine (FRIA) in the exploitation and the processing of bauxite for West German industry.

Angola:

In this Portuguese colony the Krupp-Konzern (see section 1 of the documentation) heads an international consortium for the opening up of iron-ore deposits in Cassinga. The Friedrich-Krupp-KG invested most of the money necessary for the project amounting to some 190 million marks. Up to now West German steel companies have annually received about 2 million tons of high-grade iron ore from these iron-ore deposits.

Libya:

The West German Gelsenberg-Benzin-AG, together with the American Mobil Oil, exploits the oil resources near Hofra. Most of the oil is delivered to West Germany. According to official estimates concerning the increasing oil consumption in West Germany half of the additional imports will come from Libya in the years ahead. The share of Libyan oil in West Germany's oil imports rose from 16 to 27 per cent in 1964 as compared to 1963. Also the Deutsche Erdöl-AG, the Wintershall AG and the Gewerkschaft Elwerath own concessions for the exploration and exploitation of oil resources in Libya.

Algeria:

The West German Gewerkschaft Elwerath and Wintershall AG oil companies work together with the French consortium PETROPAR, EURAPRED and SOFREI. The Deutsche Bank-AG and the Deutsche Erdöl-AG, together with the Banque de Paris et des Pay-Bas and the French Alpha Cellulose trust, founded a company for prospecting and

exploiting oil resources in the whole of Africa. The West German Mannesmann-Konzern and the Companie Francaise de Petrol d'Alger founded the Defrol-Heizölimport company. The German Tiefbau-Gesellschaft together with the French S. N. Repal does drilling work in the Sahara. The West German Gutehoffnungshütte-AG takes part in the exploitation of copper, tin and iron ore in Algeria.

Out of the many other capital participations by West German trusts for the plunder of Asian, African and Latin American raw material resources we mention only the most important ones:

- Of special interest to Bonn are the huge bauxite deposits in the Congo Republic (Brazzaville) and in Congo (Léopoldville). The Vereinigte Aluminiumwerke AG (VAW) participates directly or indirectly in the exploitation of these projects.
- Share companies of the Krupp-Konzern are prospecting for uranium in Ethiopia and exploiting wolfram deposits near Uludag in Turkey.
- The Deutsche Erdöl-AG works actively in Peru, Venezuela and Turkey, and together with the Wintershall AG also in the Sudan and Morocco.
- The Gewerkschaft Elwerath has oil concessions in Ethiopia and Lebanon. The Deutsche Erdöl-AG and the Preussag take part in oil research in the Sahara.
- In partnership with the Missipa Minera i Siderurgia Patagonika SA, the Ferrostal-AG of Essen participates in the prospecting and exploitation of the rich iron-ore deposits in Argentina and of manganese deposits in the southern Sahara.
- The West German Orenstein-Koppel Trust and Lübecker Maschinenbau-AG exploit tin resources on the Indonesian islands of Bangka and Billeton.
- The IG-Farben trust has concessions for the exploitation of uranium and graphite in Madagascar and is a partner in the exploitation of chromium-ore deposits in the Republic of South Africa etc., etc.

The colonial structure of the economy has been strengthened in many countries by means of investments in the extracting industry. Since the monopolies are processing the ores, concentrates and raw metals in

their plants located in West Germany they are interested only in exploiting the raw material resources and in establishing transport facilities for the raw materials but have no interest in setting up local industry based on the raw material deposits.

The Role of the Monopoly Banks

The West German monopoly banks are playing a decisive role in the economic infiltration and exploitation of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries by the Federal Republic. Imperialist financial institutions like the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, the Commerzbank and others which took an active part in preparing and waging two imperialist world wars, are today an important factor in West German neo-colonialism. "Private banks in the Federal Republic have a considerable share in financing exports to and imports from the developing countries."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 July 1963)

The Deutsche Bank

The Deutsche Bank is inseparably linked to the colonial expansionist policy of German imperialism. After its foundation in 1870, in partnership with other major German banks, it gained its first colonial experience for German imperialism

- in the drive for a redivision of the world,
- the conquering of markets,
- taking part in the economic exploitation of raw material sources.

In partnership with another imperialist financial institution, the Diskontogesellschaft (discount company), the Deutsche Bank financed not only the chauvinist propaganda of the German Colonial Society but also innumerable other colonial projects in Africa. Here are but a few examples to illustrate this:

1888 founding of the Südwest-Afrikanischen Gold-Syndikat

1895 participation in the Afrikanischen Bergwerks- und Handels-gesellschaft (African Mining and Trading Company)

- 1904 participation in the Ostafrikanischen Eisenbahn-Syndikat (railway)
- 1905 founding of the Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Bank
- 1909 participation in the German-East Africa Society which had been founded in 1889
- 1911 participation in the S. A. des Petrolesans du Congo
- 1912 founding of the Société Commerciale Belgo-Allemande du Congo, granting of concessions for the exploitation of ore deposits in Katanga, participation in the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Congo (railway)
- 1914 participation in the Nyassa Consolidated Ltd., which had been founded in 1893

After having done profitable "business" in Africa before the First World War the Deutsche Bank participated in the fascist colonial speculations of the nazi state. Kurt Weigelt, then director of the Deutsche Bank and its "minister of colonial and foreign affairs", was appointed by the nazi party head of the group of German colonial enterprises in the Reich Chamber of Commerce and chief of the economic department in the colonial office of the Reich leadership of the NSDAP. In a letter to the head of the Stuttgart branch of the Deutsche Bank, dated 7 August 1940 he defined his special task as director of the Deutsche Bank as follows:

"In this capacity I have been charged with organizing the economic department of the future Reich Colonial Ministry."

In another letter to the Reich Ministry of Economics, dated 10 April 1934 he emphasized:

"that in the view of the Colonial Office which I represent here as far as economic questions are concerned the South-West African mandated territory is still considered part of Germany's overseas territories..."

The colonial activities of its director in the fascist state turned out to be of great benefit to the Deutsche Bank. It was with special interest that Weigelt studied the reports on the economic situation in the former Ger-

man colonies and other African countries on which he had to give his opinion while holding his posts in the nazi state.

One of these reports says, among other things:

"It is indeed saddening to see how little the Belgians have made out of this wonderful country, apart from the Katanga mines, and how backward the entire administration and colonization appears. The Congo would be an ideal colonial territory for Germany."

(Report on the Africa tour by Freiherr von Bodenhausen and Duke Adolf Friedrich von Mecklenburg in 1935)

The Deutsche Bank had long come to this conclusion as emerges from its records in the period prior to the First World War. The Congo's ore mining districts attracted its special interest. Hence the close relationship with the Société Générale de Belgique, the chief shareholders of the Union Minière du Haute Katanga.

Today the Deutsche Bank is again the financial centre of the most aggressive imperialist monopoly groups and one of the most important centres of neo-colonialist forces in West Germany. The widespread financial network set up by the Deutsche Bank in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries enables it

- to pocket tremendous profits, and
- to control important branches of the economy in these countries.

Its most important subsidiary and partner companies are situated in the following countries:

Philippines

Together with the International Finance Corporation, Washington (a subsidiary of the World Bank), the Deutsche Bank is a partner in the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines, Manila (Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 17 July 1963).

Pakistan

Together with private groups from Pakistan, the United States, Great Britain and Japan, the Deutsche Bank is a shareholder in the Pakistan

Industrial Credit Investment Corporation (PICIC), Karachi (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 8 July 1961).

Together with the Credit Lyonnais, France, the Banco Comerciale Italiana and the American Morgan group, the Deutsche Bank is a partner in a bank syndicate (Neues Africa, 12/1962).

Furthermore the Deutsche Bank holds shares of the following companies in the following countries:

Dahomey

Société Dahoméenne de Banque, Cotonou (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 8 May 1963).

Senegal

Union Sénégalaise de Banque in Dakar (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 28-29 February 1964).

Tunisia

Union Internationale de Banque en Tunisie (UIBT) (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 5-6 July 1963).

Gabon

Union Gabonaise de Banque (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 10 May 1962).

Ivory Coast

Société Ivoitienne de Banque, Abidjan (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 18 June 1962).

Togo

Union Togolaise de Banque, Lome (Afrika heute, 14/1964).

Other companies in which the Deutsche Bank holds shares are:

Deltec SA, Investimentos Credito e Financiamento, Rio de Janeiro/Sao Paulo,

Deltec Panamerican SA, Panama,

Foreign Trade Bank of Iran, Teheran;
The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd.,
Bombay,
Banque Commerciale de Maroc, Casablanca,
Société Camerounaise de Banque, Yaunde.

The Deutsche Bank holds more than 50 per cent of the shares of the Deutsche Überseeische Bank, Hamburg/Berlin which has a branch office in Buenos Aires from where it dominates the entire Latin American area,

The Dresdner Bank AG

is among West Germany's leading monopoly banks. It has a decisive influence on the imperialist economic and financial policies and maintains numerous agencies and branch offices in African, Asian and Latin American countries. It is closely merged with international finance capital and is a major shareholder in the Union Financière Internationale pour le Développement de l'Afrique, a neo-colonialist development society for African countries.

The Dresdner Bank has agencies in the Near East, in Beirut (Lebanon), Istanbul (Turkey) and Cairo (Egypt) (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 4 April 1964).

The Dresdner Bank has a strong interest in the Deutsch-Südamerikanische Bank whose shares are almost totally held by the Dresdner Bank. Together with the Deutsch-Südamerikanische Bank AG the Dresdner Bank has eleven agencies in Latin America (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 10–11 November 1964).

Together with Deutsche Bank and the Oetker trust the Dresdner Bank is a shareholder in the Adela Investment Company SA., a multilateral private finance group for Latin America. More than 50 major industrial enterprises, banks and financial institutions in Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan are partners in this collective neo-colonialist company (Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 3 October 1964).

The Commerzbank AG

is the third of West Germany's large monopoly banks which through its neo-colonialist financial operations supports aggressive West German imperialism. The Commerzbank AG is particularly active in the Near East (Lebanon). It is a shareholder in the Africa Holding and the Société Financière pour les Pays d'Outre-Mer SFOM, Sa., Geneva. Other shareholders in SFOM are the Bank of America, San Francisco, the Banca d'America e d'Italia, the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (BNCI), Paris, and others (Industriekurier, 20 May 1964).

Furthermore, together with the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a subsidiary of the World Bank, and other leading European, American and Japanese financial institutions, the Commerzbank AG is a partner in the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIDB) (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 30 January 1964). The Commerzbank AG is also a big shareholder in the Banque Marocaine du Commerce Extérieur (Afrika heute, 18/1963).

Also in Morocco the Commerzbank, together with the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner Bank as well as the Landeszentralbank Nordrhein-Westfalen, participates in the Banque National pour le Développement Industriel through a consortium. Together with the Deutsche Bank it also holds shares in the Moroccan Foreign Trade Bank (Afrika-Informationen, 4/1962) and the Banque National pour le Développement Economique (Afrika heute, 18/1963).

The Deutsch-Asiatische Bank which has branch offices in Hongkong, Bangkok and Karachi and other towns, is financed collectively by the three West German monopoly banks – the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank.

The Bayrische Vereinsbank in Africa

Within the framework of the European Economic Community the Bayrische Vereinsbank succeeded in becoming a partner in a bank consortium composed of the big French bank Société Générale, the French private banks Banque de l'Indochine, Crédit Industriel et Commercial,

Banque de l'Union Européenne, the American Bankers Trust International Corporation, the Italian Banca Nazionale del Zavoro and the Swiss Kreditverein (Neues Afrika, 12/1962).

Thus the Bayrische Vereinsbank is a shareholder in the Société Générale de Banque in Cameroon (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 12 February 1963), the Société Générale des Banques in Senegal, the Société des Banques en Côte d'Ivoire in the Ivory Coast (Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 12 December 1962), the Société Générale de Banques in Congo, Brazzaville (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 January 1963).

The West Berlin Handels-Gesellschaft, Frankfurt-West Berlin, succeeded in the same way in gaining a footing in the Ivory Coast and Cameroon through the Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (BICI).

"Development Aid" – Aid for Monopoly Capital

The penetration of private capital is not directed solely to gaining a hold on profitable raw material deposits, it is also to prompt "regrouping" which has already begun within the international capitalist division of labour. Private investments

"... ensure that home economy is cured of its difficulties. Anything that cannot be produced here due to our high wages can mean big business overseas. Over and above this, the manpower reservoir is being expanded in the interests of profitable production at home. For we cannot count on a natural increase in working population here."
(Europäische Wirtschaft – Entwicklungsländer, Bonn, 1/1964, p. 29)

In the Federal Republic not only the export of goods is generously encouraged through government measures but also the export of capital:

"It (the state) concludes protective agreements with governments of countries which safeguard contractors from being robbed abroad. It signs tax agreements preventing the person concerned from paying

taxes at home and abroad on the income. It insures the political risk in connection with credits to subsidiary firms abroad. It grants credits itself for establishments which Germans wish to set up abroad alone or together with others. It has founded a development society which through participation with liable capital is to encourage "shy brides". The state over and above this improves its list of tax privileges. In future the (West) German employer who sets up enterprises in development countries will save 32.50 marks in taxes for every one hundred marks he invests. Until now it was only 19 marks . . . Thus does the state conduct a development policy."

(Ibid.)

This is indeed genuine aid. The government in Bonn grants it as generous guarantees and tax privileges not to the African and Asian countries but to the West German monopolies. Without this generous assumption of risks, the exceptional tax privileges, the far-reaching investment facilities, and without the public benefits in connection with projects and supplies, private capital in West Germany would not have the slightest chance of achieving even one of its aims pursued under the cloak of unselfish development aid. In this sense the neo-colonialist actions of monopoly capital in the Federal Republic merge with those of the state:

"The Federal Republic is about to throw the switch of development policy from government to private economic aid. The state must see that the outlay in terms of money, knowledge and effort for private enterprise in the developing countries is especially worth-while by carrying the burden when success is not immediate."

(DPA, 16 May 1963)

Success will not be immediate.

The policy of exploitation and financial enslavement pursued by the Federal Republic is meeting with increasing resistance in the African, Asian and Latin American countries. The "investment climate" for profit-hunting "development aiders" is cooling down noticeably.

VI. Racialism – an Integral Part of West German Neo-Colonialism

The ultra-reactionary conception of the superiority of the "whites", from its most extreme forms to its veiled methods, is a symptom inherent in the neo-colonialist policies of the Federal Republic which follows fascist traditions.

"Master race" here, and "inferior race" there – this is the ideology of West German neo-colonialism.

Instigation and Lies

Open, unconcealed race-baiting culminates in the following anti-human declarations:

"The Negro is unable to exercise self-control and self-discipline. It was the biggest mistake of western colonial policy that the blacks were not expelled or exterminated by the ruling race 50 years ago."
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 January 1963, from the article "Der Professor und der Neger")

"The Negro is unreliable, lazy, dirty as soon as he is not constantly supervised by the whites."

(Afrika, Munich, 6/1960, page 219)

"The Negroes are only half human... Unfortunately there are so many of them... they are still real animals... I cannot understand the UN. It should hit out hard at them. The more who perish the better."

(Speech of the Würzburg specialist in international law, Professor von der Heyde, quoted in: Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 21 February 1963)

It is the aim of this monstrous race-baiting of the West German imperialists to stigmatize the people of the newly independent countries

in Asia, Africa and Latin America as inferior, leaving aside all social factors, so as to

- justify neo-colonialist expansion,
- extend the domination of German imperialism,
- falsify the contradictions that are due to social conditions into racial contradictions in order to prevent a united fighting front of the oppressed and exploited people,
- influence West German citizens, the young people in particular, in the spirit of racism and subsequently deceive them about their real neo-colonialist aims,
- propagate the legend of reverse race discrimination culminating in the allegation that "the white man is no longer the exploiter" but "in many cases he has become the exploited".
(Aussenpolitik, Stuttgart, 11/1960, page 736)
- propagate the lie about "the revolt of the coloureds" constituting "a tremendous danger to the future existence of Europe and the white peoples".
(Dokumentation der Woche, Munich, 32/33, 1959, p. 5)

Scandalous Racist Insults

The citizens of the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa always meet with chauvinist arrogance and racialist attitude among the West German population. This is the result of the West German neo-colonialist policies. A whole system of media is used to propagate this racialist conception. Radio, television, the daily and specialized press, schools, universities and the flood of widely circulated pictorials such as Quick, Stern and others openly slander the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Imported shrunken heads for only 19.50 marks are advertised in the Hamburg pictorial Stern:

"Gruesome joke from New Guinea

Imported shrunken head of a long-hair Indian. Head 7 centimetres, hair 15 centimetres long. Suitable as mascot for cars, night-clubs,

dwellings or big shows. For decoration purposes. Only 19.50 marks. Place your orders immediately with Klaus Bartel, Abt. St. 1, Essen, Herwarthstrasse 79, telephone 30074. Either pay in advance or cash on delivery."

(Stern, Hamburg, No. 40, 7 October 1962)

This is the well-known SS method in the fascist era in Germany. They used to shrink the heads of murdered concentration camp inmates and, offer them as "souvenirs".

The Rheinische Merkur, Cologne, of 14 June 1963, published an article headed "Cannibals" in which Nigerian students are cynically slandered. The West German press generally calls the Africans people "whose mental state is still two thousand years behind the times".

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 1 December 1964)

"The whites of the West" would be well advised, recommends this monopoly newspaper "to keep their hands off all black nations". The paper draws the conclusion:

"The real level of the black races is too different from that of the European peoples. Apartheid . . . as pursued by the Verwoerd government is the only justifiable possibility of helping the blacks for they do not have sufficient intellectual power to liberate themselves from the laws of the jungle . . ."

The "white man" as sole representative of "culture and civilization" – what arrogant nonsense. What cynical derision of the peoples exploited for hundreds of years by the imperialists.

The spirit in which the students in West Germany are educated is also shown, for instance, by the following excerpt from the widely circulated Deutsche Hochschullehrerzeitung published in West Germany:

"In regard to his intellectual qualities and his criminality the Negro is such an inferior partner . . . that any mixing (between whites and blacks) would necessarily lead to a quality deterioration in the following generation."

(Deutsche Hochschullehrerzeitung, 4/1963)

The development of a high culture in the newly independent African states is being considered a "challenge to the German soul" (Nation Europa, 4/1958, p. 3).

The arrogance and conceit of the imperialist super-man is reflected in a West German paper which slandered the national ensembles from Dahomey and the Cameroons which toured West Germany in 1964, as follows:

"Formerly such groups performed in zoos, at colonial exhibitions, at a panopticon, or at best in a circus. A photograph from the very beginning of this century promises '20 savage women from Dahomey' at the Passage Panopticon in the Berlin Friedrichstrasse. Today they are called the 'Dahomey National Ensemble'. And the women are no longer savage. In the second part of the program the 'Cameroon National Ensemble' performs. They are men only and they stamp and sweep the dust from the stage."

(Neues Afrika, Bonn, 10/1964, p. 358)

After the performance of the "Ballet Africana", the national ensemble from the Republic of Guinea, in West Berlin, the West Berlin student paper Colloquium wrote that after this it was even more difficult to "use the word partnership. Is this not all too alien, savage, barbaric?"

(Colloquium, West Berlin, 9 October 1962, p. 3)

This is not a new tune. It has always been one of the most marked characteristics of German imperialism to be particularly arrogant, chauvinist, and hostile to culture.

The West German constitutional law proclaims, however:

"All men are equal before the law." "No one may be put at an advantage or disadvantage because of origin, race, his homeland . . ." These are basic rights as laid down in Article 3 of the constitutional law of the West German Federal Republic.

Reality in West Germany is quite different:

Insult to Arab students

These are the experiences of the eighteen-year old Jordanian student Fayezy Jaber:

"To earn a little money Fayezy worked in the packing department of a big Hamburg coffee firm until the department head fired him with the words: 'Go home you Arab skunk!'"

(Hamburger Morgenpost, 19 March 1965)

Discrimination against Egyptian trainees

A landlady in Cologne demanded from an Egyptian trainee an extra 20 marks in addition to the already very high rent remarking: "This is for the bed-linen. It will be stained because you are a black . . ."

(Neue Rheinzeitung, Düsseldorf, 13 August 1964)

Slander of Nigerian students

The Nigerian engineering student Ayemi, who after a long fruitless search for a room thought he had finally found one with a family called Schaefer, heard that the neighbours had said: "We shall do everything in our power to get that black out of the house."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 9 April 1964)

Racist attacks

At a discussion between African and German students in Cologne interruptions such as "The blacks should climb the trees outside, then we shall have more room in here," prove the effects of the racist ideology in West Germany.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 February 1963)

Attacks on Africans

In West Berlin a gang of teenagers attacked a student from the African Republic of Chad:

"They demanded a cigarette from the coloured man. When he did not comply, one of the gang knocked the student to the ground. Then all the rowdies beat and kicked him. The student suffered injuries in the face, on the knee and on the thigh. The African had only arrived in Berlin on Wednesday." (Telegraf, West Berlin, 22 June 1962)

These are not isolated cases but only individual examples of what is happening every day and everywhere in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin, encouraged by the neo-colonialist ideology of West German imperialism.

Young Africans Report on Their Experiences

The previously-mentioned note on the West-German Africa policy which the observer from the Federal Republic distributed during the 18th General Assembly reads as follows:

"All of them (the students from Africa – the authors) can, like other guests, testify to the fact that the allegation about a revival of racist madness in the Federal Republic is entirely untrue."

(Neues Afrika, Bonn, 1/1964, p. 32)

Let African students themselves bear witness to what they experienced in the Federal Republic.

A young Egyptian, for instance, reported about his bitter experience which also goes for many foreign students in West Germany:

"At the restaurant where I always eat the proprietor said to me for all to hear: 'Don't take it too seriously that you are black, you can't help it.' Back home I would have hit him in the face. Had I done that here the papers would have written the next day: 'German attacked by Arab'. So I just left without a word although he had offended me and my people. But I shall never forget."

(Kulturarbeit, Cologne, 1/1962, from the article "Ausländer lernen bei uns" by Dr. W. Rieger)

Young African trade unionists studying in the Federal Republic were treated as second-class beings.

"Two African spokesmen reported before journalists that after many unpleasant experiences in Duisburg their patience had come to an end. Time and again the word 'Negro' had been called after Africans in the streets. In the trams passengers had moved away from

them. Several Africans had without reason been turned out of a Duisburg restaurant in a humiliating manner."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 29 October 1962)

When they were turned out of the restaurants they were told:
"Negros are not served here."

And this is what some young Africans tell about discrimination against them:

Jean Mideda, Congo: "An elderly gentleman touched my face, then looked at his hand and called 'Nigger', after me."

Maurice Boucard, Chad: "At a dance the German girls refused to dance with us. And one of the German 'cavaliers' said to me: 'You are dirty. Move away a bit.'"

Dominique Bouhouyi, Congo: "I take my washing to a laundry. But on the slip I get they do not write my name but only the word Negro".

They always felt

"the obtrusive curiosity, the fear of the 'black man', and had the feeling of being but an interesting exhibit at a museum and a circus attraction."

(Westfälische Rundschau, Dortmund, 26 October 1962, from the article by Horst Behrend "Die Funktionäre aus Afrika erklären: Bundesrepublik hat uns enttäuscht")

The racial prejudices which are endorsed by the official West German policy and ideology also exist among a large number of West German students. At a discussion in Frankfurt of the Union of Students from the Portuguese-occupied part of Africa Angolan students told their German fellow-students

"about the 15-hour working day of the forced labourers, about illiteracy and the high rate of infantile mortality in their homeland. They depicted the liberation struggle which had so far had a toll of more than 50,000 killed. And then the first German speaker in the discus-

sion expressed his doubts as to the correctness of what they had said, and alleged that their report had been drafted 'somewhere else'.

"The Africans who had bitterly accused not Portugal but the Salazar regime had to listen to speakers telling them that they were being ungrateful toward a country that had only meant well for them.

"The next speaker said in a paternal tone of voice that the young peoples should be more patient in their aspirations to gain independence because according to experience they would 'kill each other' if liberation came about too suddenly.

"The third German speaker felt he could brush aside the reports about forced labour in Angola by saying that workers everywhere in the world demanded higher wages and shorter working hours . . . and therefore a young African said winding up the discussion: 'Instead of a discussion about Angola we had to listen to the Angolan revolution being condemned here.'"

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 February 1963)

All these examples prove that:

- in West Germany a racist policy is being pursued which is an integral part of the neo-colonialist system,
- in West Germany the people are being influenced in the spirit of the "master race",
- in West Germany the foreign students and workers, and in particular those from African and Asian countries, are constantly exposed to practical racism.

Glorifying the Colonial Predatory Campaigns of German Imperialism

Based on the old master-race ideology of German imperialism the West German population is today again served with a wrong and mendacious description of the historical role of colonialism. The West German citizens are given a one-sided and false historical picture. The colonial predatory campaigns of German monopoly capital are transformed into "kind deeds" and "cultural benefits" of the "white man".

- As of old the ideologists of West German neo-colonialism allege that
- European settlers had opened up the colonial territories economically,
 - European technicians and engineers had built railways, roads and factories in those territories,
 - in this way the prosperity of the native population had increased,
 - misery and disease among the oppressed native population had been removed as a result of the beneficial work of the "whites",
 - in general anything existing in the former colonial territories in the way of civilization and education was a product of European colonization.

The atrocities of the German colonial mercenaries, the cruel oppression of the native population, and ruthless extermination of the citizens opposing the robbery of their country is either being silently ignored reported as being harmless or even falsified as being humane deeds.

The West German schools are ordered to popularize these false and racist ideologies. Even as schoolchildren West German citizens are to absorb neo-colonialist ideas. They are taught:

"What you must know about Africa.

European settlers and planters opened up that continent agriculturally. They established plantations and taught the natives how to cultivate their fields and do stockbreeding with modern means. European technicians and engineers built railways, roads and bridges. They opened up mines, metallurgical works and factories thus developing the economy in Africa. European doctors took up the struggle against disease, epidemics and saved the lives of thousands of natives. European missionaries tamed the savageness of the Negroes, acquainted them with the message of Christ and taught them Christian charity."

Erdkunde, textbook, part II for the 7th and 8th forms, Prögel-Verlag, Ansbach; Oldenburg-Verlag, Munich, 2nd edition 1959, pp. 83 and 84)
In another geography textbook the colonial rule is thus falsified:

"As a result of the colonial activity of the Europeans, prosperity among the native population grew. The inhuman struggles among the tribes stopped.

The population increases again. The Negroes are no longer subject to arbitrary treatment by their chiefs and witch doctors, but are treated justly and humanly. As workers on plantations they are not exploited but are allowed to purchase their own piece of land and cultivate it."

(Karl Heck, Afrika, in Länder und Völker, Erdkundliches Unterrichtswerk, volume 3, part 1, Stuttgart 1956, p. 53) Almost word for word also in R. Müller: Afrika, Atlantischer Ozean und Amerika; in Länder und Völker, Erdkundliches Unterrichtswerk für Real- und Mittelschulen, volume 3, Stuttgart 1960, p. 35)

From the comprehensive evidence for the incorrect reports about colonialism in the West German Federal Republic only the following are cited :

"Through the far-sighted planning and scientific work of the white man the African territories were greatly promoted economically... Therefore the Europeans have invested much money in Africa."

(Erdkunde für höhere Schulen, volume 2, Afrika by Wilhelm Grotlüsch, Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt, (West) Berlin, Bonn, 6th revised edition 1961, p. 29)

The unspeakable atrocities of the 99 punitive expeditions carried through by German "protective troops" in the Cameroons alone, and the 120,000 Africans who fell victim to the imperialist German colonial mercenaries in Tanganyika are passed over in silence, however, as already mentioned Section III in this documentation.

Passed over in silence is also the fact that the German imperialists waged a cruel war of extermination against the Hereros and Hottentots.

Prior to the big revolts from 1904 to 1907 against the brutal German colonial yoke about 60,00 to 80,000 Hereros and 7,000 Hottentots were living in South West Africa. Lieutenant General von Trotha, an extermination strategist from the school of German militarism, had them

chased into the Omahke, a huge sand desert where the majority of the people died. The surviving Hereros and 2,000 Hottentots were thrown into concentration camps where 45.2 per cent of the prisoners died. In the concentration camp on Shark Island alone 1,032 of the 1,795 prisoners died in the course of 6 months. Of the 245 male prisoners only 25 were still able to work by April 1907, the rest of them were only able to move about on crutches.

The population of the Federal Republic is fed with lies and false reports about the German colonial past culminating in the allegation: "The German people can be justly proud of their colonization achievements."

(Lebendige Vergangenheit, history textbook for secondary schools, volume 5, Stuttgart 1961, p. 460)

As one of many examples of the deliberate falsification of history in connection with the conquest of the colonies here is a report of the colonial conquest of East Africa by Carl Peters, ill-famed for his cruelties:

"The servants took their muzzle-loaders and fired as soon as the main village of Seghas had been reached. Chief Bamwalla came to meet the strangers. 'Welcome, white men, in Useghal'

(Peters)

"We have come to bring you friendship from the great people of the Waduchi (Germans) who live beyond the ocean, and are mightier and greater than all others.'

(Bamwalla)

"Do you want to help me against the slave drivers who set fire to my villages and kidnap my people?"

(Peters)

"Where the flag of the Waduchi flies there are no longer slaves. We bring you justice and peace, Chief Bamwalla. Do you want friendship with us ?'

(Bamwalla)

"I want it. What am I to do, sir?"

(Peters)

"The steppe is big, Bamwalla. It offers much room, white men will come and houses and villages will arise where now buffalos are grazing. You will accept the laws the whites give you so that peace may reign in the country.'

(Bamwalla)

"And no enemy will be allowed to attack us any more?"

(Peters)

"No, I promise you that. Moreover, men will come to heal you of many of the diseases you suffer from.'

(Bamwalla)

"I want the Waduchi to become our patrons."

(Lebendige Vergangenheit, history textbook for secondary schools, volume 5, Stuttgart, 9th edition, 1958, p. 45)

Such textbooks frequently exist in West Germany in more than ten editions with a total of 500,000 copies.

This method of falsifying history in the interests of West German neo-colonialism subsequently culminating in the view represented by the influential Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung maintains that world opinion was anti-colonialist.

"but that it was colonialism that had brought the African continent order and stability for the first time.

Colonialism has put a stop to the slave trade, tribal wars, and ritual murder. Any civilization and education existing in Africa is a product of colonialism."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 19 July 1960)

This allegation is consolidated in the same insolent way by the racist thesis of the superiority of the "white race":

"The whites in Africa are the helpers and teachers, the fighters against epidemics and diseases among man and animals, the breeders and tenders of better stocks and plants, the protectors of forests and the soil, the scientists and technicians in all fields."

(Die weite Welt, geography for secondary schools, edition A, vol-

ume 2, first half, Afrika by Wilhelm Grotelüschen and Gerhard Siebel, Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt, (West) Berlin, Bonn, 10th edition 1961, p. 67)

Defaming the Peoples' National Liberation Struggle

The self-sacrificing and just struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for their liberation from colonial and semi-colonial oppression through the imperialist powers is also badly slandered in the West German press, textbooks and radio.

Although official Bonn government documents declare that the policy of the federal government toward the Asian and African countries fully respects the peoples' right to complete sovereignty, the facts prove the opposite.

The basic attitude of the West German government party toward the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa is expressed in the statement by the then chairman of the CDU Bundestag group, von Brentano, who stated shortly before the 16th Session of the UN General Assembly:

"... Many of the young nations are not yet politically mature enough to be able to make a decision in the spirit and on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations."

(DPA, 4 September 1961)

The ideologists of West German neo-colonialism propagate this theory of the alleged inability and lack of political maturity of the people of the young states in many variations, such as, for instance, *Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 1 February 1964:

"The frank words that were, however, unfortunately uttered too late, by the overthrown Sultan of Zanzibar, that the island had received its independence too soon also go for the other African countries which are today afflicted with attacks of weakness, economic ruin, chaos and terror."

"Events in the Congo have again revealed the serious situation that has developed in the newly independent African countries. It is com-

parable to the situation of many young people in modern society who have developed quickly physically but who have mentally remained on a level which corresponds to their age. Society offers them a freedom they cannot cope with . . .”

(Petrusblatt, 20 December 1964)

Moreover, the West German ideologists of neo-colonialism are also trying to slander the heroic struggle of the newly independent countries for complete independence. Atrocity mongering, reports about crimes and atrocities of the anti-imperialist liberation movement are to belittle this struggle for freedom and independence in the eyes of the West German population.

Under headings such as “New Revolt – Panic in the Congo – Whites as Fair Game”, “Hell is loose in the Congo – Murder, blows, rape”, “Black mutineers chase and rape white women”, reports are given about the liberation struggle in the Congo.

“Horror is reigning in liberated Congo”, they write.

“There is no limit to the lawlessness of the ‘Jeunesse’”, and “it is a fact that the savage hordes (meaning the national liberation movement – the authors) are coming near the capital of Leopoldville plundering, murdering and burning . . .”

(Neues Afrika, Munich, 12/1964)

The Congolese patriots, who want to liberate their country and their economy from the clutches of international monopoly capital, are stigmatized as rebels

“who have now butchered almost the whole of the Congolese elite in Stanleyville and numerous Europeans who have only given their best for the country . . .”

(Neues Afrika, Munich, 12/1964)

They sneer at the training of the People’s Army of the Congo. The West German journals write:

“In the second and more important stage of training, magic weapons are distributed which are to protect the life of the Simba (name for

the liberation fighters meaning lion – the authors). At the beginning there was only the ‘water of the Mulele’ which, sprinkled on the soldier, was to protect him from enemy bullets.

“Since this did not, however, have the expected effect it was replaced by the ‘Great Lumumba Medicine’. The Mulele Water made anybody who had been sprinkled with it invulnerable, the Lumumba Medicine, however, guaranteed anyone under its protection resurrection on 1 December . . . The People’s Army had a chief witch doctor, Mamma Fumu, who had at her disposal a large staff of assistants, socalled ‘defence specialists’.”

(Neues Afrika, 1/1965, pp. 17 and 18)

The racial arrogance and profound contempt of persons of the West German “master race” toward coloured peoples is expressed in almost all of their reports about the peoples struggling for their liberation.

Iwan Kirchner, member of the board of editors of the Bonner Rundschau, writes about the Algerian liberation struggle:

“Along with the covetousness went the unrealizable wishes of the semi-educated and primitive people who are unfortunately still in the majority among the Algerian people and subsequently envy Europeans their possessions. From unrealizability and envy throve hatred. This is one of the most important psychological roots of rebellion.”

(Bonner Rundschau, 29 March 1961)

The world-historic role and importance of the rising of the colonially oppressed peoples, their aspirations for freedom and independence is being defamed as a revolt of “ungrateful children” who no longer wish to be “taken care of by the whites” (Länder und Völker, Erdkundliches Unterrichtswerk, volume 3, Atlantischer Ozean und Amerika, Stuttgart, no date, p. 28).

In genuine neo-colonialist jargon the Düsseldorf Der Mittag expresses itself even more clearly:

“Even though the colonial masters have gained any amount of ad-

vantages from their overseas territories the fact remains that had it not been for them the colonial peoples would still be climbing palm trees and living on coconuts and bananas. That the teacher is cheated of his profit might be accepted because he has feathered his own nest before . . . That he is thrown out like a criminal or scoundrel . . . affects all of us, also the non-colonial Germans."

(Der Mittag, Düsseldorf, 20 December 1961)

The West German press threatens all consistent liberation efforts as follows:

"Without the white man most of the new African countries now belonging to the community of free nations and being member states of the United Nations would fall asunder. Africa is a black giant whose flesh is kept together by white bones, nerves and sinews."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 19 July 1960)

The ruling circles in the West German Federal Republic are encouraging even the old colonial powers not to "watch inactively" the struggle of the African and Asian people for independence. They give every possible support to the armed attacks against the freedom struggle of these peoples.

The Stuttgarter Zeitung of 21 February 1964 writes:

"It is impossible that small groups of mercenaries should be allowed to be the pace-makers of a chaos which the governments will then no longer be able to cope with. These governments may not be angels. They often misuse their power or enrich themselves but Britain and France are not obliged to look on inactively when in Africa, in the name of self-determination, democracy and freedom, chaos is established from which great dangers can develop for the West and particularly for Europe."

The West German mercenaries in Tshombé's service, the West German arms supplies to Portugal and Israel prove clearly enough Bonn's real attitude toward the peoples' national liberation struggle.

The West German neo-colonialists also abuse and insult the outstanding representatives of the African and Asian peoples who are

leading their peoples in the struggle against colonial domination and for the complete independence of their countries. The leaders of the national liberation struggle are described to the West German population as "gangsters and brigands" (Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 21 January 1964, 14 February 1964) who have come to power through "blood and violence" (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 February 1964). UAR President Nasser, Ghanaian President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and other politicians like Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Azi-kiwe and Archbishop Makarios are grossly insulted just as Patrice Lumumba was some years ago.

Contempt, arrogance and hatred are expressed in the innumerable articles and reports published in West Germany about the liberation struggle heroes of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who in Bonn are called "political rope-dancers", "Arab carpet dealers", "ambiguous characters", "African potentates" and the like.

We have abundant evidence to prove these facts. But we feel that it is incompatible with the dignity of the statesmen concerned and with our own dignity to publish these insulting documents.

The same monopoly capitalist forces which made use of Hitler's fascist dictatorship to maintain their domination, in West Germany and West Berlin today again determine economic and political life. To implement their neo-colonialist aims they use heavily incriminated fascists who hold leading positions in the Bonn government apparatus and so-called scientists who openly propagate fascist ideologies.

It is their task

- to revive the fascist plans for predominance and world conquest,
- to propagate without restriction anti-communism, racial hatred and nazi theories,
- to force revanchism and atomic war preparations

and integrate them into the system of neo-colonialism so as to counteract the national liberation movement and the peoples' aspirations for independence, and continue to subject them to colonial oppression using neo-colonialist methods. This is the continuation of fascism and its representatives in German imperialism.

Wilhelm Grotelüschen

This "occidental" professor was one of the most important colonial pedagogues under fascism in Germany and today in West Germany is still drawing up reports about Africa in West German textbooks (Hinrichs Lehrbuchreihe). In 1963 he published in the *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde* the following "Main points for Dealing with the German Colonies in Schools"

- "We need the colonies firstly for economic reasons."
- "We need raw materials for our industry."
- "We need markets for the products of that industry."

(Grotelüschen, Wilhelm, *Hauptgesichtspunkte für die Behandlung der deutschen Kolonien in der Schule*; published in *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 4th annual volume, 1936, No. 17/18, p. 808)

The imperialist lackey Grotelüschen called upon the teachers to acquaint their pupils with the colonial claims of fascism:

"It is a matter of course in this situation for the schools passionately to canvass for the German colonial cause so as to help to propagate the colonial idea as widely as possible among the whole of the people."

(Ibid., p. 804)

In Hinrichs' *Erdkundebuch für höhere Schulen* (Geography Textbook for Secondary Schools) of 1939 (pp. 39–41) Grotelüschen wrote:

"Never would the Negro on his own account be able to lay out a plantation. For this, the long-term planning and the scientific work of the white man is needed . . . Physical work, however . . . he cannot perform in the humid tropical climate. That only the Negro can do. The white man is the master doing the intellectual work, he is the supervisor and manager, the Negro is his servant and worker."

In the 1958 edition (pp. 34–35) this paragraph has been revised as follows:

"Never would the Negro on his own account be able to lay out a plantation. For this, the long-term planning and the scientific work

of the white man is needed . . . Physical work, however . . . he cannot perform in the humid tropical climate. That he must leave to the Negro. The white man does the intellectual work, he has the control and management. He has to check everywhere."

An even more far-reaching adaptation can be found in the 1961 edition (p. 29):

"Through the long-term planning and scientific work of the white man the African territories were greatly advanced in the economic field . . . Either voluntarily or forced the Africans did the physical work for the whites . . . The white man only controlled and managed."

The basic racist ideas, however, in all variations have remained the same.

Wahrhold Drascher

leading racist in the nazi era, who theoretically justified the colonial policy of German fascism, for this purpose in 1936 wrote the book *Die Vorherrschaft der weißen Rasse* (The Predominance of the White Race). The Colonial Policy Bureau of the NSDAP (nazi party) recommended this book, and nazi propagandists were obliged to read it. His latest neo-colonialist pamphlet *Schuld der Weissen? Die Spätzeit des Kolonialismus* (The Guilt of the Whites? The Late Period of Colonialism) is "paid tribute to" in the neo-fascist paper *Nation Europa*:

*"Drascher's earlier works *Auslandsdeutsche Charakterbilder* (1929) (*Characters of Germans Living Abroad*) and *Die Vorherrschaft der weißen Rasse* (1936) find a contemporary and valid continuation here."*

(*Nation Europa*, Coburg, 9/1960, p. 46)

Today Drascher writes:

"Not the final aim but the methods leading to this aim must be changed."

(Wahrhold Drascher: *Schuld der Weissen? Die Spätzeit des Kolonialismus*, Tübingen 1960, p. 219)

or:

"The West would no doubt be prepared to make far bigger concessions if it did not have reason to fear that after having left its positions the communists and not the natives would be its successors."

(Ibid., p. 220)

What did he write in 1936?

"Under his leadership (Hitler – the authors) we Germans . . . are today the representatives of the white peoples' future. Rejoice in the fact that a strongly armed and race-conscious Germany is developing which in case of emergency will ward off the coloured peoples."

(Wahrhold Drascher, Die Vorherrschaft der weissen Rasse, Stuttgart/Berlin, 1936, pp. 375–380)

These ideologists are in the main those forces who do not want to dirty their hands but whose work establishes the intellectual, propaganda and "legal" foundations for the colonialism of German imperialism and fascism and their crimes, and who are today in the same way supporting the aggressive neo-colonialist policy of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic.

Prominent Nazis in the Service of Neo-Colonialism

It is a suspicious symptom of revived West German imperialism that the leading government positions in the Federal Republic are held by former, some of them heavily incriminated, nazis. The basis of nazi ideology and policy was racism. No other system has developed such a perfection in the annihilation of peoples, Jews, Slavs and other population groups as German imperialism.

Those responsible for murder and mass murder – there was a toll of 55 million dead during the nazi era – today again hold important positions in the Federal Republic. The West German state relies on the cadres, the institutions, the political ideas of the previous imperialist-fascist German government. The statute of limitations recently passed in connection with nazi crimes is designed to spread the cloak of oblivion over the guilt of the monopolies, over the exploitation and

extermination of uncounted working slaves from many countries of Europe. This is what "overcoming the past" means in West Germany. The fact that racism is being propagated is not, therefore, a coincidence, an exception, but the logical consequence of power relations in West Germany.

The personification of this colonialist, imperialist, fascist continuity is clearly proved with the example of some leading West German politicians:

Federal President Lübke, a concentration camp construction manager and close confidant of the nazis, heads the West German state.

Documentary evidence at hand in the GDR unequivocally reveals that the present President Heinrich Lübke of the West German Federal Republic was an important key figure in planning and implementing the most secret armament plans of military importance for the fascist leadership during the Hitler era.

- *Lübke proved himself as closest confidant of the nazis in connection with their most secret armament plans and was subsequently exempt from military service during the whole of the Hitler war;*
- *Lübke was given the so-called Great Pass of the fascist war ministry signed by Speer which opened all doors in the nazi Reich to him. Lübke was even of those who could be conscripted only "with the agreement of the Führer";*
- *Lübke worked in Peenemünde as confidant of the secret police (Gestapo), and the central Gestapo office in Stettin recommended him as a person whom one could "always fall back upon";*
- *during the last stage of Hitler rule Lübke was mainly responsible for the implementation of the secret "Jäger-Programm" of the nazi leadership which was based almost entirely on the slave labour of the concentration camp prisoners, prisoners of war and foreign labourers;*
- *Lübke's demands for concentration camp prisoners for the construction of projects of military importance in hundreds of cases*

- led to the painful death of the unhappy victims as a result of the murderous working and living conditions sanctioned by him;*
- *Lübke is accused of the murder of 279 concentration camp prisoners who died the most agonizing deaths in the Leau concentration camp alone in the period from 29 January to 1 April 1945.*

This war criminal, this armament specialist and murder accomplice, who is today an important representative of revanchism in the Bonn state is one of the "especially protected representatives of the Federal Republic" on the basis of a decision on principle of the 3rd criminal court in Karlsruhe, file no. 3-68/61, and must be guaranteed "sufficient protection" by all West German courts. On order of the Federal Presidential Office the West German Press and Information Bureau on 15 March 1965 contacted the editors of various periodicals advising them that further publications about the fascist past of Federal President Heinrich Lübke were "not desired".

Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, now president of the West German Bundestag and president of the German Africa Society was an active supporter of the Hitler fascists.

Already in 1923 Gerstenmaier joined the SA fascist para-military formation, and in 1934 applied for membership in the NSDAP. As a government official and holding leading functions in the fascist National Socialist Students' Organization and the National Socialist Students' Work, Gerstenmaier also had an active part in winning over the German universities for the fascist ideology. Gerstenmaier actively supported the fascist racial policy and took part in its implementation. In the book Kirche, Volk und Staat (Church, Folk and State), published by him in 1937, the most vile fascist racial theories are propagated. One of the authors wrote:

"Any folk which wants to maintain its racial characteristics and subsequently the biological prerequisites for its culture must try to prevent other races from infiltrating. The folk state in Germany has attempted to cope with this task by firstly having prohibited any further immigration of other races and, secondly, by having

implemented, by a number of laws . . . the folk and racial separation between persons of German origin and those of other races. Every inter-racial marriage is forbidden in Germany."

(Karl Barth zum Kirchenkampf, Schriftenreihe Theologische Existenz heute, No. 49, Munich, 1956, p. 70)

Gerstenmaier was and is still today a typical representative of the master-race ideology. He doubts

"that the Africans have or can develop their own culture . . . which could compete with that of the whites, and which would correspond to a sovereign state."

He does not grant the African peoples the ability

"to liberate themselves from the compulsion to assimilate the political, economic, technological, scientific and finally also the psychological and sociological conditions of the West."

(Afrika – heute, yearbook of the German Africa Society, Cologne, 1960, p. 12)

At the same time he tries to weaken the African population's efforts to gain economic and political independence:

"The question can now be asked with good reason what the Basari in the mountains of Guinea or the Ashanti in the north of Ghana would gain by exchanging the way of life of their fathers and forefathers with that of the workers under civilization.

"Surely, the Massais, who are a people of herdsmen, would probably be rid of their plague of flies. But under the compulsion of technical civilization the Massais would certainly also lose themselves along with their flies."

(Ibid., p. 11)

Gerstenmaier glorifies colonialism. In his opinion

"the epoch of colonialism was not merely an epoch of exploitation but above all an epoch of great colonizing, that is to say cultural deeds."

(Ibid., p. 11)

The colonial conquest and the subjection of the African population is consciously falsified by Gerstenmaier as being an "ethos of cultivation with the urge to civilizing activities":

The Bonn war minister Kai Uwe von Hassel was already an active advocate of the colonial policy of German imperialism under Hitler.

The immediate "model" for von Hassel was his father who until 1919 was captain of the colonial "protective troops" in Tanganyika and under whose command more than 900 African natives were murdered in 1905. Hassel does not shrink from justifying this crime and recommending it to the Bundeswehr as an example. He celebrates General von Lettow-Vorbeck, one of the seniors of German colonialism and his father's superior, as a legendary figure by writing about him:

"Lettow-Vorbeck is one of the personalities who have the right to be called a guiding example for the young Bundeswehr."

(quoted from Die Tat, Frankfurt, 21 March 1964)

Hassel himself

- was, from 1935 to 1939, in charge of all plantations of the old DOAG colonial society in Tanganyika in which Hitler's foreign ministry had a 36 per cent share;
- during the war trained a unit in which agents were prepared for terror actions in Africa, the Middle East and Asia;
- had an immediate share in drafting the 5 September 1940 plan of the high command of the Hitler army and the Foreign Ministry which aimed at the reconquest of the colonies and many other African territories.

In the Federal Republic Hassel is not only prominent in establishing the neo-colonialist German Society for Economic Cooperation and active in the Bonn German Africa Society, but is also chiefly responsible as West German war minister for

- West German military support to other imperialist countries against the national liberation movement in South Vietnam, Angola, and the Republic of Congo,

- Bonn's arms deliveries to Israel and the military-atomic conspiracy with the South African race terror regime of Verwoerd,
- an accelerated policy of military involvement of African states in the aggressive NATO strategy.

Characteristic of Hassel's attitude to the crimes of nazi rule is that under his long reign as premier of Schleswig-Holstein, such heavily incriminated war criminals as the executioner of Warsaw, SS Gruppenführer Reinefarth, the former camp commandant of the Auschwitz mass extermination camp, Richard Baer, the euthanasia killer SS physician Heyde and others were given refuge for years.

Hassel, "who wants to see the German service flag flying not only from the stern of the planned NATO rocket freighters on the high seas but also from overseas garrisons" (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 10/1965), declared on 17 July 1964 in Tutzing:

"If the Black Continent became a red bastion, then the countries on the south-east flank of NATO could no longer fulfil their task; an independent Europe which was thus encircled could scarcely be held any longer. The decline of the West would be an almost inevitable result, it would succumb to the pressure of two continental fronts."

(Leinen los, Munich, 10/1964)

Under the pretext of a communist threat to the West, Hassel wants to realize the old German imperialist plans for the conquest of the African continent. Hassel hopes to carry out Hasso von Etzdorff's colonial plan (see section "Historical Retrospect on Military Plans and Operations of the German Imperialists" of the present documentation) with new methods.

West German Foreign Minister Dr. Gerhard Schröder was one of the first followers of the nazi party.

Among the leading neo-colonialists in the West German state system who were formerly nazis is the Federal Foreign Minister Dr. Gerhard Schröder. He had been a member of the NSDAP since 1 May 1933. This is revealed in an article in the 17 January 1954 issue of the New York Times, which referred to the files of the Hitler party found by the

American occupation troops but up to now not made accessible to the world public.

In an interview with the American magazine Newsweek in February 1960 Schröder had to admit his nazi party membership. He stated "It is true that I was a member ... I knew the Jews were in internment camps."

In his doctoral dissertation he called for a racist science that *"has its roots, like all other manifestations of life, in the folk-political ground of our race and draws its own values and yardsticks from the works of our national socialist world outlook"*.

That is cleverly camouflaged racism.

The co-author and commentator of the fascist race laws and accomplice in carrying them out, Dr. Hans Globke, was state secretary to the West German federal chancellor for many years.

Former Bonn State Secretary and head of the office of the West German federal chancellor Dr. Hans Globke was, under fascism,

- a participant in the drafting of laws, decrees and commentaries which enabled the nazis to strengthen their reign of terror, to realize their barbarous policy and to prepare aggression,
- intellectual author of the pogroms and mass murders of the Hitler regime,
- actively involved in carrying out criminal actions against the peoples whose territories were occupied by nazi troops,
- active as ministerial counsellor in the Reich Ministry of the Interior until 1945 in a responsible position.

At the time when Hasso von Etzdorff was formulating the colonial plans of the German imperialists, Ministerial Counsellor Globke was penning the "colonial blood law" in the interior ministry of the nazi Reich. Under this law, all "racially inferior persons", including Africans, in the fascist-occupied areas of Europe were to be persecuted and exterminated.

On 5 July 1940 Globke was put in charge of the "conclusion of peace" with France by the infamous Reich Minister of the Interior Frick. The "colonial blood laws" were intended principally for this territory. This is revealed in a letter written on 2 September 1942 by the fascist Reich minister of the interior on the "coloured problem" in connection with preparing the peace treaty with France.

"8. *Coloured problem. The seeping of coloured blood into Europe cannot be tolerated in the future; to the extent that damage has already been done, it must be remedied as much as possible. The following requirements arise from this principle:*

- a) *The lasting settlement of coloured people (Negroes, Madagascans, Indo-Chinese, Mulattos, etc.) in France must not be tolerated under any conditions. Coloured workers may not be engaged in France unless the work is of very short duration. Coloured troops must not be maintained in France. To the extent that coloured people are resident in France, they must be removed within one year to the non-European colonial territories of France corresponding to their racial origin.*
- b) *Marriage and non-marital sexual relations between coloured persons from France or the French colonies and Aryans of whatever nationality will be forbidden and punishable by law, both in France and in any French colonies left to France.*
- c) *Coloured persons cannot be given French citizenship. Those who already have this citizenship will have it taken away if they are more than $\frac{1}{4}$ coloured blood; in the case of hybrids with Indo-Chinese or related blood, exceptions may be made. The introduction of a sort of protective citizenship for coloured persons remains possible."*

In the same racist manner Globke assisted in the "Aryan" conquest and occupation of Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Denmark and Norway. After 1945 Globke was one of the prominent nazis who quickly regained high government positions in the Bonn state due to their great services for the expansion plans of German imperialism.

In the GDR Globke has been sentenced in absentia to life imprisonment "as joint perpetrator of repeatedly committed war crimes and crimes against humanity".

SS accessory to murder Friedrich Karl Vialon is state secretary in the neo-colonialist Federal Ministry for 'Economic Cooperation'.

The present state secretary in the Ministry for Development "Aid" is among the most prominent neo-colonialists of West German monopoly capitalism. In the nazi period

- he held responsible positions in the Ministries of Justice and Finance,
- he was entrusted by the fascists with war missions requiring particular trustworthiness,
- Vialon was jointly responsible for the systematic "final solution of the Jewish problem" in the territory of the "Reich commissar for the east",
- he played a decisive part in the construction of concentration camps and personally inspected them.

In the Coblenz Jewish murder trial (1963) the former Reich commissar for the east, war criminal Heinrich Lohse, testified:

"Herr Vialon was one of my most capable men. I was glad he was sent to me."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 May 1963)

And Vialon gave proof of his "abilities". On 15 June 1943 he sharply ordered the officials under him "as far as this has not yet been done, to proceed energetically with the confiscation of Jewish and ownerless properties . . ."

(Deutsche Volkszeitung, Düsseldorf, 2 October 1964)

In this way Vialon did a good business and grew rich from the confiscation of the jewellery and other articles from those murdered.

Vialon has held leading positions in the Bonn state service since 1950:

- From 1958 to 1962 he was the closest confidant of the murderer

- Globke in the federal chancellor's office;
- Today he sits on the government benches of the Bonn parliament.

It is characteristic of West German neo-colonialism that it has such a heavily incriminated war criminal in its service. A state secretary like Vialon in a neo-colonialist ministry is an insult to the young states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Vialon announced his program for the young national states with the words:

"The time for velvet gloves is now past."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1962)

Dr. Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol – another prominent nazi – is today ministerial director in the West German development "aid" ministry.

- Sonnenhol, who
- attained the rank of Untersturmführer in the criminal SS organization,
 - was awarded the SS decoration "The death's-head ring",
 - had his political reliability honoured by the nazis with a position in the Foreign Office,

was liaison agent between the fascist foreign ministry, which prepared and carried out the Hitler aggression on the "diplomatic" level, and the SS extermination centre (Reich Security Main Office), which was jointly responsible for the extermination of the population in the areas occupied by German troops. With the help of the notorious concentration camp boss and SS Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl he was promoted leader of the murder department "Inland II" for his "outstanding service".

Sonnenhol has again been given responsible functions by the Bonn government since 1949, when the war criminal was expelled from Switzerland.

- Today the SS murder department chief is
- ministerial director with extraordinary powers for the carrying out of the imperialist West German neo-colonialist policy,
 - deputy chairman of the board of directors of the neo-colonialist Ger-

man Society for Economic Cooperation, a state monopoly expansion enterprise designed to smooth the profit-bringing path to the Asian, African and Latin American states for West German monopoly capital.

The department for "development-policy foundations" in the West German development "aid" ministry is also headed by a man with a nazi past: Horst Dumke.

In the Bonn Foreign Office, which lays down the foreign policy principles of the West German neo-colonialist policy, former nazi diplomats hold key positions:

- the former nazi diplomat Dr. Hans-Georg Sachs is the head of the department for trade and development policy;
- the former nazi diplomat Dr. Ewald Lanwer is in charge of the sub-department for fundamental foreign policy affairs concerning development "aid";
- the former nazi diplomat Wilhelm-Günter von Heyden is responsible for technical aid in sub-department III B of the department for trade and development policy.

Since 1964, Dr. Luitpold Werz has been the Federal Republic's ambassador to Indonesia. He is one of the heavily incriminated former nazi diplomats.

A member of the nazi party since 1934, Werz was taken on by the foreign service from the first moment of nazi rule, without having to pass the examination. When he was transferred to the legation in Pretoria (South Africa) in 1936 he was given the special task of carrying out espionage, which he continued later in Lourenco Marques (Mozambique). The trust placed in Werz by the Gestapo is shown by his later position in the so-called Germany Section of the Foreign Office, which concerned itself chiefly with the liquidation of European Jews and was in close contact with the Rosenberg ministry.

Although Werz was arrested as a war criminal after the war by the British because of his Gestapo activity and was unmasked as one of the

most important nazi spies, by 1948 he was again in the service of the Bonn state.

In 1949 Werz entered the Protocol Department of the Office of the Federal President with the aid of the like-minded fascist diplomat, Dr. M. Klaiber. In 1953 he was quietly "transferred" to the embassy in Buenos Aires, when he seemed too heavily incriminated by publications concerning his fascist past. In confederacy with such people as former Colonel Rüdel, the former nazi regional group leader H. Korn, the former business manager of the nazi organ *Der Angriff*, H. Schwarz von Berk, Werz took part in the publication of anti-Semitic and fascist literature in the German language in the "Union of Former National Socialists".

Back in the diplomatic service since 1951 – von Nostitz-Drzewiecki.

Another seriously tainted nazi diplomat, Gottfried von Nostitz-Drzewiecki, has been in the embassy in Chile since 1964. He entered the diplomatic service in 1927, and in 1933 the nazis took him into the Foreign Office. During his activity in the embassy in Vienna he helped to prepare the annexation of Austria. Nostitz-Drzewiecki was active before the beginning of the war (autumn 1938 to May 1940) in the newly formed section Pol. I M, whose task was to maintain contacts between the Foreign Office and the fascist supreme command of the Wehrmacht.

In spite of his nazi past Nostitz-Drzewiecki was reinstated in the diplomatic service and he attempted at the beginning of 1965 to undermine friendly sport relations between the GDR and Chile as West German ambassador to Chile.

Also seriously incriminated is Dr. Ernst Günther Mohr, nazi diplomat for many years and present West German ambassador to Argentina.

In 1934, in the embassy in Peking, Mohr was already head of the press service of the local nazi group. In the consulate general in Memel he participated in preparations for the nazi occupation of this area. Between 1939 and 1941, during his activity in the legation of The

Hague, Mohr played a large part in the deportation of Jews to the Mauthausen extermination camps as deputy to the nazi regional group leader and envoy, Zene, in Holland (Documents on the Wilhelmstrasse Trials, vol. 60 B, Nationalzeitung, Basel, 6 February 1958). On 25 June 1941 Mohr reported to Berlin "that of the 140,000 full Jews originally registered in the Netherlands the 100,000th Jew has been removed from the body of the nation" (Nationalzeitung, Basel, 6 February 1958). Because of his trustworthiness the nazis in 1944 put Mohr in charge of liaison between the Foreign Office and the supreme command of the Wehrmacht and its three branches.

The Bonn ambassador to Uruguay, Dr. Otto Eberl, is also a former nazi diplomat.

Eberl's rise in the diplomatic service was particularly rapid in the fascist period. His activity in South America was in the period when Hitler fascism was establishing a large-scale espionage network on this continent. Eberl himself wrote to the Foreign Office on 7 March 1938 that his "work has met with appreciation and is favourably regarded also by the party services with which I have been working" (Documents of the fascist Foreign Office 69066, p. 183). Before he began his activity in Franco Spain on 22 December 1938 he had a special mission in Prague to help put the Munich Agreement into effect. His activity in Spain reveals that he was a trustee of the German arms monopolies united in the "Export Group for War Equipment" (AGK) and was occupied with the delivery of German weapons to Franco. As head of commission IV c of the trade policy department of the Foreign Office, he played a decisive part in the plundering of Rumania and Bulgaria in 1943.

Among the other nazi diplomats in the neo-colonialist foreign service of Bonn imperialism are the West German ambassadors

in Colombia, Ernst-Ludwig Ostermann von Roth,

in Peru, Dr. Heinrich Northe,

in Libya, Dr. Ludwig Beye,

in the Cameroons, Dr. Karl Döring,

in Afghanistan, Dr. Gerhard Moltmann,

*in Ethiopia, Conrad von Schubert,
in Venezuela, Dr. Georg Vogel
in the Sudan, Freiherr Oswald von Richthofen,
in Lebanon and Kuweit, Dr. Kurt Munzel.*

With the integration of former nazi diplomats in the neo-colonialist foreign service, West German monopoly capital is pursuing the following goals:

- the application and practice of the diplomatic experience gained during the nazi period, combined with neo-colonialist methods, in order to keep the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America chained to the imperialist metropolitan centres,
- the halting of the national liberation movement of the peoples;
- the promotion of the expansion of the concerns and trusts in the Asian, African and Latin American states, economic control of these countries and high profits,
- the political blackmail of the peoples, exercise of the Hallstein doctrine in order to undermine the sovereignty of the young states.

The Bonn ambassadors in the African, Asian and Latin American states are the front-line executors of the particularly aggressive neo-colonialist policy of West German imperialism.

VII. Bonn's Struggle Against Social Progress

The ruling circles in the West German Federal Republic see in the revolutionary changes characteristic of the path of the young national states to independence and prosperity a great threat to the existence of the entire imperialist world system, the system of inequality, exploitation and oppression. They openly declare that they regard their development "aid"

"as a kind of guarantee that the vast revolutionary process that has grasped two-thirds of mankind will not overflow and engulf us all".
(Ministerial Director Dr. Sonnenhol in Göttingen, 5 May 1963, cited in Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II A 30, p. 201)

For Bonn, the far-reaching historical decisions being made by the states which have thrown off the colonial yoke for their further social development are not questions of the sovereign will of the peoples of these countries and their right to self-determination. The ruling circles in West Germany, denying the right of these countries to shape their foreign policy and dispose of their national resources as they choose, are covering them with a network of bases for ideological infiltration and political subversion and are applying economic pressure in order to

- hinder social and socio-economic progress in the African, Asian and Latin American states,
- shape the social structure of these countries according to their own capitalist "rules of order" and models, which have shown themselves to be obsolete,
- introduce the capitalist exploitation system in these countries,
- prevent the transition to a non-capitalist way of development,
- firmly and lastingly chain them in this way to the capitalist world system with its exploitation mechanism.

For this they make use of development "aid" credits and economic "advisers", cultural institutes and "technical assistance", courses in "leadership" training, and state societies with special tasks, the activity of religious communities and a development service modelled on the American "Peace Corps". They have an exceptionally wide range of instruments for attaining the main strategic goal of imperialism.

The Economic Policy of the Young National States Is to Be Changed

According to a federal government statement on 6 February 1963:

"Aid to the needy peoples of the world is for us primarily a question of humanity."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 30, p. 189)

All the facts contradict this. In fact the ruling circles in West Germany are not concerned with humanity but with the power of imperialism. This has been openly and unmistakably formulated:

Development "aid" is intended for the preservation and extension of capitalism.

"Today we must say more openly than ever that we are concerned with defending the specific goods of the western world when we support the developing countries in their struggle against want and peril. And we say more clearly than ever that our sacrifices (meaning the high-interest West German loans – the authors) are made for the western world and for the preservation and extension of its ideals, and that we have no funds to spare for the enemies of this system and these ideals..."

(State Secretary Prof. F. Vialon in Die Welt, Hamburg, 17 May 1963)

Influence is used to propagate the imperialist world system:

"I claim, on the other hand, that particularly those peoples that have created and preserved the hitherto existing world system according to their lights are particularly competent to draw other people to them and must gain enough influence to make clear the advantages of the world system to which we aspire,"

(Hans Podeyn, President of the German-Orient Foundation, in Wirtschaft und Entwicklungshilfe, Frankfurt, 1961, p. 9)

Development "aid" only for countries that adopt the imperialist line:

"In particular, we should help our friends, or those states that adopt our 'ideological line'. Or those whose destiny is related to ours. Or are at least sympathetic to us. Or whose 'survival as free states' is essential."

(Welt am Sonntag, Hamburg, 2 February 1965)

In pursuing their strategic goal the ruling circles of the Federal Republic strive especially to force on the young national states a concept of social development aimed at restraining the economic activity of the state and expanding private capitalist enterprise. The plan is to create a class structure amenable to imperialism, that facilitates neo-colonialist penetration and provides internal support and allies for foreign capital.

What is to be attained?

Development "Aid" Minister Walter Scheel:

"In the aspired-to transformation of the traditional economic and social forms in the developing countries without which a dynamic, self-supporting development process is not possible, the formation of pluralistic social systems is of prime importance."

(Speech in Bremen, 2 February 1964, cited in Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 30, p. 226)

Scheel explains the "pluralistic social systems":

"We promote every enterprising initiative in these countries and in fact would like to concentrate our development projects more and more on these . . . We create favourable conditions for a balanced social and economic structure and do nothing which can lead to state capitalism or state socialism."

(Interview with the Rheinischer Merkur, 8 May 1964)

"Of primary importance is the development of middle strata, which are lacking as a stabilizing element in most of the developing countries."

(Speech to the German Overseas Convention on 7 May 1962 in Hamburg. In Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 30, p. 102)

The same goal is repeated in many variations:

"The vital question for all developing countries is whether they succeed in forming a middle stratum through which they can establish economic and social contacts with the modern industrial countries."

(The then Foreign Minister von Brentano on 8 June 1961 to the international congress "Promotion of trades and vocations in the developing countries" in Munich)

"Without an organic social structure, which presumes an efficient middle stratum, a healthy economy is inconceivable."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 15 August 1964)

"The crucial question is whether the leading circles in a developing country come to realize that their country can better be served by private enterprise than by state enterprise."

(Fritz Berg, President of the Federal Union of German Industries in Die Welt, Hamburg, 6 February 1965)

In the view of the ruling circles in the Federal Republic, the forces which at present decide the economic policy of the young national states are not suited to this task and must be replaced: the state should be supported by capitalist entrepreneurs, "middle strata"; they, and not the revolutionary-democratic forces now in power, should control the economy. Brentano, in the speech quoted above, said that the young states "lack a state-supporting middle stratum".

Ministerial Director Dr. Sonnenhol of the West German Ministry for Development "Aid" is still more precise :

"The state development policy and our credit assistance will be successful in the long run only if we succeed in developing a growing stratum of private entrepreneurs who can one day relieve the state of its economic functions."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II A 30, p. 208)

The economic theorists and politicians are not in the least concerned about the interests and welfare of the African and Latin American states,

the improvement of their economic structure or the rate of their economic growth. The deciding factor in the propagation of an "efficient middle stratum", that is a class of private capitalist entrepreneurs, in the young states is in the final analysis exclusively the interests and profit of foreign monopolies. The economic activity of the new state apparatus, which looks after the national interests of the country, is to be suppressed and undermined in order to reduce and finally eliminate the "threat" of a nationalization of the ill-gotten wealth of foreign capital and of the limitation of the profits of their exploitation.

"Not until a relatively broad native stratum of entrepreneurs operating on the principles of private enterprise exists with a certain consciousness of rank and with the ethics to preserve their autonomy will there be less danger of a German, European or American businessman working in the developing country losing all he has earned through a state decree . . ."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 January 1962)

How is that to be attained?

Federal Chancellor Erhard answers this question with massive demands:

"This also means that we cannot be satisfied with the alteration of the technological-economic factors alone in these countries. There, as in our own state, the building of a healthy economic system as the basis of a democratic state is of great importance."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 30, p. 1)

State Secretary Vialon demands that economic "aid" bring about the "change".

"The dispute over the economic principle that we are to impose on the developing countries has cost a lot of valuable energy . . ."

"It is now perfectly clear that a change in views must not be demanded before aid begins, but that the aid . . . must bring about the change."

(Ibid.), p. 117

The demands made on the young national states concerning their social structure are camouflaged by the ruling circles in West Germany with the call for "self-help". The then Foreign Minister von Brentano on 8 July 1961 formulated the basic principle of West German development "aid" policy:

"Development aid should be nothing else but the encouragement of self-help."

(Ibid.), p. 60)

Dr. Matthias Schmitt, member of the board of the AEG Trust, expanded on this principle:

"The principal requirement for the greater effectiveness of development aid is self-help by the developing country; that is, the will and willingness to adapt its own policy to the aims of development aid."
(Die Welt, Hamburg, 3 March 1962)

Somewhat more precise is the CDU development "aid" expert and Bundestag member Gerhard Fritz. In his opinion the young national states have

"to create the prerequisites for the earliest possible reduction of state interference and for the evolution of private economic forms".

(G. Fritz, Entwicklungspolitik als Aufgabe, Bonn 1962, p. 74)

And the federal government report to the OECD on the achievements of development "aid" in 1963 states:

"The federal government sees as a criterion of the will to self-help whether these self-help measures are designed . . . to promote private small and medium enterprises on the broadest possible basis."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 12, pp. 6-7)

Capital Export and "Social Aid" as Means to the End

Alongside these demands, intended to tie the young national states to the imperialist line of expanding private capitalist property, the ruling circles in West Germany see great possibilities of attaining their main

strategic goal in the promotion of monopoly export of capital to Asia, Africa and Latin America:

"In conformity with our economic system, the German contribution to the economic reconstruction of the developing countries should be made primarily through German private enterprise."

(From the Federal Government's argument on the "Law to Promote Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, Particularly the Developing Countries", cited in Das Parlament, Bonn, No. 26, 29 June 1960)

The main motive next to profits is the effect on the socio-economic structure of the young national states.

"Alongside these immediate advantages to the national economy, private investment is also particularly suitable for promoting the formation of medium and small enterprises and thus developing a stratum of middle class entrepreneurs. The gradual construction of a market economy will thereby be promoted from below."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II A 17, p. 1)

In the expansion of private foreign capital in the Afro-Asian and Latin American states the West German federal government sees an opportunity to transfer to the young states the relations dominant in the western, capitalist economy.

The principles of the ruthless drive for profits, pitiless competition, the suppression of human dignity and exploitation of the weak by the strong – these principles of a so-called "free" capitalist economy which knows freedom only for the exploiter and his profit, should – according to the desire of Professor Erhard, his ministers and backers – become valid in independent Africa, Asia and Latin America as well.

"The activity of private enterprise in the democratic and free country also has the advantage in the developing countries that the model of the western economy is to a large extent transferred to relations in the developing countries. In the view of the federal government it is desirable that reconstruction in the developing countries be carried

out on economic and politico-economic principles characteristic of a free economy."

(Entwicklungsänder, Baden-Baden, 5/1962, p. 158)

The West German federal government therefore supports neo-colonialist capital export by the monopolies with various measures – security, tax privileges, assumption of risk, etc. In regard to the development aid bill, in which a series of these promotion measures are concentrated, Chancellor Erhard said:

"With this bill private initiative is to be mobilized for the reconstruction of the developing countries, which if sensibly applied should effectively promote at the same time the formation of a state-supporting middle class."

(Government statement by Erhard on 18 October 1963, cited in Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 30, p. 1)

Yet Bonn does not seem to think this course is enough to attain the desired goal of hindering social progress in the young national states and pulling them onto the capitalist path of development. Development "Aid" Minister Scheel is therefore looking for new forms and methods for the West German development "helpers" to influence the fundamental social decisions in the young national states. He declares:

"In our development efforts we must arrive at forms of aid that strengthen private enterprise in the development countries."

(Ibid.), p. 220)

Bonn sees one of these new forms in the so-called social assistance. State Secretary Vialon calls it "the second decisive new direction" of West German development "aid" (Speech to the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Stuttgart, 29 June 1962) Its task is

"to prevent the appearance or growth of radical movements that could disturb the continuous process of economic and social growth by improving social relations and securing better working conditions in the development countries".

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 12, p. 18)

The idea is to take steps to prevent the national liberation movement, which for Bonn is a "radical movement", from progressing along a non-capitalist path of development. This "social assistance" is partly in the form of ideological infiltration – the German Foundation for Development Countries, a propaganda centre for West German neo-colonialism in West Berlin, conducted 14 seminars with "leadership forces" from Afro-Asian states on problems of the economic and social order in 1963 alone – and partly in direct association with the capital "aid" projects in the young national states.

Development "Aid" Minister Scheel formulated the "basic idea":

"In every individual development project the connection between capital aid on the one hand, training, education and social aid on the other hand must be kept in mind; in planning and carrying out capital aid projects in particular, the effects on the social structure should be considered."

(Speech to the German Overseas Convention in Hamburg, 7 May 1962)

The "projects" of West German development "aid", in other words, are to be so selected and linked with such "special measures" that they have the effect desired by Bonn on the social structure of the young national states.

Ruling circles in the Federal Republic see another new form of attaining their ends in the activity of the German Society for Economic Cooperation, formed on 14 September 1962. Its initiator and first president was the West German war minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel. To all appearances the Society is a private one, but it was formed exclusively with state capital, to the amount of 75 million marks. Its task is to build up private capitalist enterprises in the developing countries by buying up shares and floating loans and to tie them closely to imperialism by linking them with private West German companies.

"The Society should concentrate its activity on the formation and expansion of small and medium craft, manufacturing and agricultural

firms and thus contribute to the evolution of a strong middle stratum in the development countries."

(Annual report of the Development Aid Ministry for 1962)

Hassel's "development society" pursues direct political aims in this connection, whereby the ruling circles in the West German Federal Republic understand by "political stability" in the young national states such relations as will guarantee them the undisturbed exploitation of the peoples of these countries:

"Many developing countries lack the middle-class element of small enterprise necessary for economic and political stability. Of this there is no doubt, and it should therefore be promoted by means of the development society."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 3 April 1962)

The "development society" is to return its share in the new body to private hands when the enterprise begins to operate at a profit. It is expressly forbidden to hold shares in state enterprises in the young national states. According to the business report for 1962, it shall

"contribute to the strengthening or creation of a strong middle class in the developing countries ... Over and above the direct activity of the society, incentive should be given for the formation of private enterprises in the developing countries from their own forces ... A radiation effect is expected from combined project groups also in the sense that new firms will be formed and that a healthy economic and social structure will thereby be created ..."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 17, pp. 2-3)

This, then, is a highly specialized instrument of neo-colonialism with the exclusive purpose of naturalizing private capitalist property in the young states, letting it grow rampant in their social system and creating in this way class supporters, fifth columns of imperialism, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The goal is to tie them to imperialism, to prevent an anti-imperialist socio-economic development without private enterprisers and speculators.

By 30 June 1964 the "development society" had undertaken 18 projects, mainly in Africa, putting up 21 million marks as its share of the capital: Bonn is beginning to put its neo-colonialist plans into practice in this field.

Towards the Prevention of National Industrialization

In view of the interference of the Bonn neo-colonialists in the internal affairs of the African, Asian und Latin American peoples it is not surprising that they also try to dictate to these countries which paths they should take for further economic development. The question whether industry or agriculture should be given priority is a vital one for these countries, for both the national sovereignty and the living standard of the peoples of these countries depend on it.

The profits of the West German monopolies depend on the export of their industrial products. That is why they try in various ways to hinder industrial development or to divert it into the directions desired by the monopolies. One of these methods is the claim, made even in scientific works, that building up a heavy industry would not promote industrial development there, or at least would not be profitable.

This West German monopoly-guided propaganda has been intensified particularly when the young national states began to create the economic foundations necessary for the maintenance of their sovereignty. It is not surprising, therefore, that these reactionary views were given increased coverage in the press and reflected in publications of the governing CDU/CSU party when the federal government had to give increased attention to the principles of development "aid" and development policy in connection with making public funds available for development "aid" and deciding how they would be used. The First Draft of the development "aid" discussion circle of the CDU/CSU group in the German Bundestag contains this passage:

"For us the question arises whether aid in the form of export of complete small industrial units can represent a particular contribution to German development aid, as a means of creating balanced

middle-class strata and as an instrument against the formation of an unbound, dangerous proletariat... Economic and technical experts must first get together and think out the simplest complete units. Primitive village blacksmith shops, for instance, operated by manual labour (hand drills, etc.) as found decades ago, and to some extent still, in remote parts of Europe. Weaving mills must be designed with the smallest capacity and easily-operated looms...

"Perhaps these firms (of the Federal Republic – the authors) could use investment goods in the Federal Republic for supplementary production abroad. This would release skilled labour power for more complicated production processes."

(Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe, II/A 32/1, pp. 31-33)

The real aims of West German "economic aid" is to prevent a truly national industrialization of the developing countries. In Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, supplement to the weekly Das Parlament, of 29 August 1962 Hans Bräker writes in an article, "Problems of German Development Aid":

"Some think they can pass from the beginnings of a development to today's forms of development in one jump – right up to the most modern technology, automation and nuclear physics. But they are taking a false and dangerous path... A too rapid mechanization or the one-sided promotion of certain branches of the economy, particularly heavy industry, would be economically senseless because it would not give enough consideration to the balanced development of the other social and economic fields..."

"Therefore every success in economic efforts will depend on the success in showing the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, most of whom live in an irrational world of the imagination, the road to rational economic and technical thinking."

Typical of the attitude of these reactionary economic circles in the Federal Republic are the following views, also supported by the CDU/CSU.

"On the other hand the European can cause mischief with his gift, a shiny steel plant for example or a dozen oil-smeared machines; for

these machines are foreign bodies in the social world of the natives, they disturb their life, threaten their customs, since they are forced to overcome a thousand years in one leap. This causes a rupture."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 29 March 1963)

Still more clearly the same paper writes:

"It doesn't have to be a steel plant right at the start - development aid for crafts and small workshops is often more effective.

"A country at the beginning of industrial development requires first and foremost ploughs and pumps for agriculture, tools and uncomplicated processing machines, e.g., for raw materials for textiles, wood, and leather. Repair shops for agricultural machines and lorries are generally more important than extensive chemical works, and a bicycle factory is more useful than an automobile factory. Lathes and metal workshops are of more service in the first stage of industrialization than rolling mills. And it is certainly more sensible to produce sewing machines in the underdeveloped countries than to start building big refineries."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 39, 27 September 1963)

Representative of the forces in West Germany that oppose any industrialization in the young states is Kai-Uwe von Hassel, who declared before the Schleswig-Holstein provincial parliament on 26 October 1960:

"I think we are agreed on the question of industrialization of the coloured world when we concentrate not on the big project, but on a broad . . . industrial middle system or perhaps starting with the small enterprise with the goal of a middle system. But it is very difficult to make it clear to these independent countries that this is the best way in their interests."

(Stenograph report on the 21st session, 50th sitting.)

From their own experience with colonialism and imperialism the peoples and governments of the African, Asian and Latin American states will see for themselves which way is better in their national interests.

The Apparatus of Power of Bonn Neo-Colonialism

Bonn has built a powerful apparatus for guiding the political and economic development in the young states into the channels desired by the monopolies: more than 250 state, semi-state and private organizations, 13 ministries dealing with development "aid", a far-reaching system of ideological influencing, technical and educational "aid", misuse of the church and of culture. Between 1956 and 1962 the West German government spent no less than 895 million marks for "technical and training aid", including the allowances for the various subversive institutes and organizations. In 1964 the amount rose to 239.6 million marks. Money is no object for Bonn in spreading its influence over the development of the young African, Asian and Latin American states in this disguised manner.

Within the framework of so-called technical aid more than 600 West German "experts" have been sent to the development countries by the federal government in recent years. They act as "advisers", experts, controllers, technicians, planners, etc. Their task is to inject the conception worked out by the ruling circles in the Federal Republic for the social, particularly the socio-economic, development in the young states into the development programs of these states, in the planning of their projects and in the organization of their construction. The representative of the press office of the West German government, Krause-Brewer, declared:

"The Federal Republic has a moral responsibility towards the mistrustful peoples of Africa and Asia, and must feel that it is its duty to draft a model of the entire western world... The federal government has provided to this end 75 million marks for publicity work abroad, including the so-called technical aid, in the current fiscal year (1962 – the authors). A network of 300 press consultants and officials are to promote this publicity work on the spot."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 June 1962)

The West German "experts" are supposed to impose the "ideals of the western world", the "principles of a free economy", the Federal German "concepts of order" on the Afro-Asian and Latin American

states; i.e., they are supposed to naturalize capitalism as a social and economic system in these countries, slow down their social and economic system with the invisible chains of reactionary thinking, technical standardization and pseudo-scientific "perception". More than 200 "model establishments" in a total of 67 Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are propagating the West German idea of social and technical formation of the young states. The many training centres built by Bonn are used as bases for ideological subversion and to make the countries dependent on West German machine deliveries. In most cases the activity of the Bonn "experts" is directly linked with the economic interests of West German finance capital. For instance, the contract for opening up a 750,000-hectare virgin forest area in Liberia by the Federal Research Institute for the Forest and Wood Industry contained the provision that concessions for its economic use and for mining be given to West German monopoly groups.

The camouflage used by the ruling circles in West Germany in pursuing their ends is seen particularly clearly in the use of "cultural" institutions for the political purposes of neo-colonialism. The most prominent of these is the Goethe Institute for the Propagation of the German Language and Culture Abroad, Munich, formerly a notorious nazi propaganda centre under the name "Deutsche Akademie". The name of Goethe is now being misused to propagate the policy of the federal government. In a speech at the ten-year celebration of the institute, Federal President Heinrich Lübke declared that

"our own great political aims"

must be pursued with the work of the Goethe Institute (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn 18 April 1964). The institute, with its more than 100 foreign branches, is financed by the West German government to the amount of 20 million marks a year. All cultural institutes abroad, formerly under the West German Foreign Office, have been placed under the Goethe Institute. But

"the Foreign Office and the (West) German representatives abroad function as a sort of board of directors".

(*Vorwärts*, Bonn, 13 May 1964)

The head of the cultural department of the West German Foreign Office is at the same time a member of the Board of Trustees of the Goethe Institute. According to its president, retired Ambassador Pfeiffer, the aims of the Institute and the institutions under its authority are to represent "above all our culture, our national character and our history" (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14-15 December 1963), thus proving themselves an integral part of the ideological system of West German neo-colonialism.

The importance attached by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic to "cultural work" for the cause of neo-colonialism above all for the future, was – clad in question form – indicated by no less a person than the Erhard government's Israel negotiator, CDU Bundestag member Dr. Kurt Birrenbach:

"Birrenbach raised the interesting question of whether the primacy of cultural policy, including the economy, would not one day supersede the primacy of foreign policy."

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 6-7 March 1964)

"Cultural policy" is already being brought into play now to reach, in a less conspicuous way by the back door, ends which are becoming ever more difficult to achieve by other means.

The training in West Germany of executive personnel and young students and trainees from Africa, Asia and Latin America serves the same purpose. It plays a particular role in the neo-colonialist tactics of the Federal Republic's ruling circles: Bonn is eager to get hold of the young states' present and future leaders. As a piece of internal information, they advocate

"not the construction of plants, but the training of a leadership class in the developing countries to be the prime task for the time being . . ."

(Neue Rhein-Zeitung, Düsseldorf, 21 June 1962)

West German development "aid" experts openly proclaim the intentions they follow by training Africans, Asians and Latin Americans in

West Germany. Here is a comment by the program director of the German Foundation for Developing Countries in West Berlin:

"...but on those who have gone through our hands it will be possible to rely to a much larger degree, and it will be possible to launch them into key posts in their countries and to ever and again give them a backing from Germany by supplying scientific material, industrial connections and professional assistance."

Dieter Dankwortt, On the Psychology of German Development Aid, Bonn, 1962, p. 163)

"The cadres of the young states trained in West Germany are to provide in their countries long-term political and economic advantages to the Federal Republic and the West German monopolies. The speculation of the Federal Republic's ruling circles is that those having returned to their countries

"will without exception be installed in high places in politics and the economy. And a prominent doctor or engineer in South America, in Australia, in the Far East or anywhere in the world who has studied in Germany and been trained on German appliances and machines, will also buy them for himself and his country."

(Der deutsche Lehrer im Ausland, Munich, 3/1961, p. 54)

However, the training of young Africans, Asians, Arabs and Latin Americans in West Germany has failed to come up to Bonn's high expectations with regard to extending its influence in the university and technical school students' countries.

"Foreigners' studies at (West) German universities and colleges have caused a big disappointment. The expectations which have been placed in educational assistance have not materialized. All organizations active in this field know by now how little the results justify the expenditure."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 14 April 1964)

Racial discrimination, lack of assistance in studies, and constant anti-communist indoctrination have piled up nearly insuperable difficulties before the students from the young national states.

"Through embassies and consulates of the Federal Republic putting out propaganda which is not tempered by any degree of modesty, the Foreign Office seeks to spread an idea about the material and intellectual conditions of study in the Federal Republic which is fascinating indeed, but unfortunately has little in common with reality. The foreign students come to (West) Germany because they take at their face value the bulletins, films, pamphlets published by consulates, Goethe institutes, the Lufthansa airline company, etc. Reality in the Federal Republic is then found to be quite different."

(Kölnische Rundschau, 29 December 1962)

Since the ruling circles in the Federal Republic who are imbued with a spirit of racism and neo-colonialism are unwilling and unable to carry out the necessary fundamental changes, which would be alien to their nature, they have started setting up special institutions trying with especially devised programs, short-term courses and seminars, under the guise of professional education and advancement, to exert ideological influence on, and bring into political commitment to Bonn, those leading forces of the young national states occupying key posts in administration, the economy and society.

Among such institutions are

- *the German Foundation for Developing Countries, West Berlin,*
- *the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn, devoting itself mainly to "schooling" trade union officials,*
- *the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Bonn, catering mainly for the training of political functionaries,*
- *the Haus Rissen, Hamburg,*
- *the Eichholz Political Academy, an establishment of the CDU, leading West German government party,*
- *the Afrikanum, Frankfurt, training centre for African executive officers, an establishment of the Catholic church,*
- *the Society for Vocational Advancement in Africa, Bethel near Bielefeld,*

- *the Institute of Tropical and Sub-tropical Agriculture, Wittenhausen near Cassel (the former German Colonial School),*
- *the Institute of Foreign Relations, Stuttgart,*
- *the Institute for Social Cooperation, Freiburg.*

The most important of all is the German Foundation for Developing Countries which was established in 1959. It is allotted 8 million marks a year from funds of the federal government alone. At the Foundation's West Berlin centre, 14 seminars for top officials from young national states are held every year, mainly concerned with subjects directly aiming to influence the political and economic development of the African, Asian and Latin American states. Thus, for instance, "Educational Planning in Developing Countries", "Woman's Role in Social Life", "Traffic Planning in Africa" and similar subjects were dealt with. The principles of capitalist economic planning were expounded to officials from ministries of economics and planning, directors of statistical offices, planning boards and businessmen in another seminar. The "central office" for the Foundation's "public administration", also in West Berlin, trains subordinate and high administrative officials from the young national states in ten-month courses. Bonn devotes particular attention to this activity since it is to provide them with the backing in the young states' administrations which will be able to have decisive influence on the total development of the particular country.

Apart from the Foundation and its bodies, other institutions of this kind have been established in West Berlin, such as the German Institute for Developing Policies, the founding of which goes back to an initiative of US General Lucius D. Clay. It has the task of training executive personnel for employment in the apparatus of West German neo-colonialist expansion. Another one is the German Text-Books and Teaching-Aids Institute which is to influence the designing of instruction in the young national states.

Bonn pursues especially sordid political goals with this concentration of neo-colonialist institutions in West Berlin. As is well known, West Berlin does not form part of the Federal Republic but is an independ-

ent political unit which is situated within the territory of the GDR and belongs to it, but is illegally kept occupied by the USA and its allies, and used by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic as an imperialist base for provocations against the democratic and anti-imperialist German state, the GDR. It is to play a role in Germany which has been played by Bizerta in Tunisia and the Suez Canal Zone in Egypt, which Guantanamo plays in Cuba, and which still can be played by Mombasa in Kenya and by Mers al Kabir in Algeria. In an adventurist and provocative way Bonn is making continuous attempts from West Berlin to sharpen tensions in Germany. They would also like to employ to this end politicians and executives from African, Asian and Latin American countries visiting the Federal Republic, or students, trainees, participants in courses and seminars from these countries. They are to be tied down to the belligerent and provocative course of Bonn policy in the German and West Berlin question. That is why as many courses and seminars as possible are transferred to West Berlin, and trips to West Berlin and propaganda manifestations against the GDR are included in the standard program of the foreign students' and trainees' political indoctrination in the Federal Republic.

"The stay in (West) Berlin has also been a firm part in the program of our courses in the past";

it is said about a course for Latin American teachers of German at the Goethe Institute in Munich (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 8 January 1963).

The activity of political infiltration of the Carl Duisberg Society for the Advancement of Trainees, Cologne, which "looks after" African, Asian and Latin American trainees in West Germany, is described by one of its directors, Dr. H. Deimann, as follows:

"Providing cultural guidance has, above all, the aim of imparting a true and comprehensive picture of Germany . . . He (the trainee – the authors) is not least to get an opportunity to make a judgment on the great social and political issues of our time according to his own views and experiences. It is in view of these very important questions

that the Carl Duisberg Society carries out regular field trips to (West) Berlin and the zonal border areas (trips to the GDR state border are meant – the authors)."

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 29 August 1962)

What is called "making a judgement according to own experiences" here means in reality alignment with the aggressive and adventurist Bonn policies. This is the real purpose of the "assistance in education and training" rendered by the West German federal government to independent states in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

West German policies have recently become still more purposeful, not only with regard to the representatives of the young national states in West Germany, but also with regard to the people in these states themselves. This network of "assistance" spread by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic over the independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America in order to divert them from the road of social progress, has become still closer since Bonn supplemented its expansionist policies with a new instrument in the form of the German Development Service, an organization of "development aiders" set up after the model of the American Peace Corps. The significance of the German Development Service was outlined at its founding ceremony by Development "Aid" Minister Walter Scheel:

"... The federal government has decided to inaugurate today, together with private organizations, the German Development Service as a new, and perhaps the most important instrument of our development policy."

(Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 25 June 1963)

Its real objectives were concealed behind hypocritical statements. Federal President Heinrich Lübke:

"Development aid with (trained – the authors) personnel is in its best meaning an act of world-wide charity."

(Ibid.)

Development "Aid" Minister Walter Scheel:

"Young specialists are to work in the developing countries for an average of two years after thorough preparation. They will forego special financial and professional advantages and securities, establish in daily cooperation lasting contacts with the population, by a modest way of living and without positions of seniority, and gain experiences for their own human, political and professional education."

(Ibid.)

In reality, however, Bonn is concerned neither about "world-wide charity" nor "human education" when sending 1,000 carefully trained development "aiders" to Africa, Asia and Latin America. The issue is political influence, "brain-washing", ideological guerilla warfare against the national liberation movement and the completion of their revolution; the issue is sending personnel to support the capital expansion of the West German monopolies.

"The new corps is in the first place political; this is unarmed guerilla warfare."

(Kölnische Rundschau, 19 May 1963)

"Above all, the progress of industrialization must be accompanied by a change in the minds of the people in the developing countries. This change of the so-called 'infrastructure' is the most difficult and most important problem. And it is also the purpose of the efforts of the Peace Corps."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 31 May 1963)

"Down-to-earth motives underlie this project . . . In Asia, Africa and Latin America it has long been realized that capital aid must be supplemented by educational aid if it is to become effective. If there are no failures they (the "development aiders" - the authors) could well lay the social and political foundation for an effective capital and material assistance . . ."

(Christ und Welt, Stuttgart, 12 April 1963)

The character and function of the German Development Service may also be recognized by the fact that it is an imitation of the US Peace Corps.

"In Bonn there is a strong inclination to follow the disputed prototypes in the United States. The US Peace Corps has, however, developed quite adventurist ideas about its tasks. In its training-camps, above all on Hawaii, a strange mixture of boy-scout romanticism and jungle warfare is practised . . . This Peace Corps from the United States has then indeed evoked the strongest suspicion in a whole number of developing countries."

(Vorwärts, Bonn, 20 February 1963)

The director of the American Peace Corps, Robert S. Shriver, was himself in the Federal Republic in spring 1964 to advise the West German government on setting up the "Development Service".

"Scheel's ministry some time ago sent two experts, a psychologist and a political economist, to America to study methods, training and practice of the American brother organization. Their experiences were set forth in a report which, by and large, accepts the American structure for the Federal Republic as well."

(Die Welt, Hamburg, 20 June 1963)

In mid-1964 the first 35 development "aiders" were sent into action. In late 1964 175 of them went to Tanzania, Libya, India and Afghanistan; during 1965 the planned strength of 1,000 volunteers is to be reached. The federal government's annual expenditure on this project amounts to 10 million marks.

Along with the national "Development Service", large numbers of West German development "aiders" from religious organizations work in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The ruling circles in the Federal Republic do not stop at abusing the feelings of religious people in the young national states to serve the political ends of neo-colonialism.

The "missionary" policies of the churches have already been inseparably linked with colonial conquest. This traditional relationship still exists today. The ruling circles of the Federal Republic are today again exploiting church establishments for their neo-colonialist policies. The association of institutions of the church with militarism and NATO policies as fixed in the 1957 Military Chaplains' Agreement imposes upon the West German church authorities the obligation to support the

entire policy of the federal government. Leading Bonn politicians frankly admitted why they need religion and church establishments in implementing their neo-colonialist policies.

Dr. Gerhard Fritz, CDU member of the Bundestag and vice-chairman of the Bundestag committee on development "aid", stated in a discussion on church work in Africa at the political club of the Evangelical Academy in Tutzing that

"the churches were the best auxiliaries of government policy in this field".

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 October 1963)

Member of the Bavarian provincial parliament, Merkt declared at a meeting held by the papal missionary works in Munich

"the missionaries' work had an extremely great political importance".

(Der Tag, 28 October 1962)

This well-calculated development "aid" via church institutions is defined by State Secretary Friedrich Karl Vialon as

"a new era in the relationship of state and church. It becomes manifest in the churches' readiness to direct their efforts increasingly to such areas which are not or less accessible to development promotion by the state, but where the churches have particularly good experiences. Measures taken by the churches as social follow-up projects of industrial undertakings were of particular importance. They help overcome tensions stemming from economic upheaval."

(Deutsche Zeitung mit Wirtschaftszeitung, Cologne, 14 March 1963)

The complete political coordination of the churches' missionary work with Bonn's neo-colonialism is largely admitted by representatives of political clericalism themselves.

"In certain spheres of active development aid they already speak deliberately of abandoning missionary work."

(Rheinischer Merkur, 13 January 1961)

The Sonntagsblatt of 12 February 1961 published by Provincial Bishop Lilje illustrates the misuse of religion and church when declaring that

"the Christians have a share in the responsibility for the state's development aid. The unselfish work of charity must also find its place in the political, economic and ideological structure of the great human community of this world."

This means nothing else but incorporating the work of many honest Christians in the fields of health and education in the young national states, which is undoubtedly deserving of appreciation, into the system of Bonn's neo-colonialist policy.

It is therefore not surprising that the West German federal government lends considerable financial support to the churches' auxiliary activities. Development "Aid" Minister Walter Scheel declared about this:

"We support the churches' development work with public funds because I believe that the effectiveness of the churches' development work is particularly high."

(Rheinischer Merkur, Cologne, 8 May 1964)

On the occasion of a reception given by the federal minister, Dr. Kurt Schmidt-Clausen, Geneva, secretary-general of the Lutheran World Federation, "had an exchange of experience on the promotion by the federal government of development projects of the Evangelical Church".

Scheel "called the cooperation in the field of development aid between the two churches on the one hand and the federal government on the other, an example and a model". (epd, ZA No. 17, 21 January 1964)

Bundestag member Dr. Gerhard Fritz commented on the fact that the foreign missions of the Evangelical and Catholic Churches had been supported by the federal government with 500 million marks between 1959 and 1963:

"Never at any time in German history had the foreign missions of the churches been given so much financial support in such a short period."

(epd, Evangelical Press Service 125 id/Ku -, "500 million marks for the Foreign Mission")

The West German ambassador to the Vatican, von Scherpenberg, pointed out

"that the Federal Republic had made available to the missions of the two churches an initial sum of 10 million marks and, by successive payments up to the current fiscal year, a total of 54 million marks. The Catholic Church in Germany had set up two organizations - 'Misereor' and 'Adveniat' - to serve this cause."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 29 October 1963)

This proves that the organizations "Misereor", "Adveniat" and "Bread for the World" which are intended to be purely religious institutions relieving poverty and propagating religion, have become completely subservient to West German government policy. Their humane objectives are falsified when people like Military Bishop Hengsbach are chairmen of such organizations.

To promote neo-colonialist activities the representatives of political clericalism in the Federal Republic have established other organizations which put the funds to use. They have officials of the federal government directly represented in them, or have a hand in other neo-colonialist institutions.

Thus the Evangelical Church has a Working Party of Evangelical Churches in Germany for Overseas Service which by 1964 had sent 132 specialists to the Afro-Asian countries (Deutsches Pfarrerblatt, 22/1964).

The projects relating to the entire church, which are promoted by the General Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, also include the exchange program of the Federation, the Working Party for Overseas Service, the Evangelical Centre for Development Aid in Bonn and the Hamburg Missionary Academy.

The Catholic church authority has founded the Working Party for Development Aid (AGE) with 36 Catholic organizations at present affiliated to it. As early as 1963 it had 155 development "aiders" working in 37 African, Asian and Latin American countries.

(Petrusblatt, 26 May 1963)

The Working Party for Development Aid is an association embracing, apart from the episcopal organization Misereor, also the Caritas Association, the Missionary Council, the Papal Works for the Propagation of Faith, the Central Committee of German Catholics as well as nearly all major Catholic lay societies (Kolping Family, Catholic Rural Youth, Catholic Workers' Movement, Catholic Academic Society, etc.).

Among all private West German organizations engaged in development "aid" by sending personnel, the Working Party has the largest experience in training development "aiders".

The objectives of these organizations as set out by official propaganda do not correspond to their real intentions, as has been shown by the quotations in testimony of the relationship between church and politics.

Thus leading politicians and industrialists are board members of Christian organizations occupying themselves with development "aid". It is beyond any doubt that these people carry through the political and economic interests of the groups behind them. Thus West German war minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel wrote in *Informationsblatt*, 4/1961, for the parishes of the Lutheran Provincial Churches of Lower Germany:

"I have welcomed it very much that now a society has been founded in Germany for the purpose of supporting vocational training on this Christian basis in Africa. It is the 'Society for Vocational Advancement in Africa' with headquarters at Bielefeld, the governing body of which includes, among others, President Dr. Gerstenmaier, and which lends individual Evangelical churches a helping hand in accomplishing this task."

Another example is the "Christian Young People's Village Work of Germany" (CJD) directed by theologian Arnold Dannemann.

"Dannemann and his assistant Seibold negotiated the establishment of similar young people's training villages with Guinea, the Congo, Tanganyika and the African Empire of Ethiopia. The young people's villages have in fact come to realize that the method of instructing apprentices and trainees in the developing country itself is more suitable and promising than the method of inviting young Africans

to Germany for training, which has been preferred up to now. The young people's villages are almost self-sufficient. The money comes from contributions of interested firms. For this purpose the youth village at Recklinghausen, in cooperation with the Hibernia Mining Company, has been trying out a new 'occupation-finding year' since April 1963. Dannemann's African expert Seibold commented: 'We bring the plan and the people, the Federation brings the money'.

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 15 January 1964)

Who the people are that give the money becomes obvious if one takes a somewhat closer look at the list of board members of the "Christian Young People's Village Work". Here are some of the names:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Kost, Heinrich | - General Director, member of the board of directors of the Federal Union of Employers' Associations |
| Lobeck, Max | - General Manager of the Provincial Union of Industrial Employers' Associations of North-Rhine Westphalia |
| Sogemeier, Martin | - Adenauer's former coal commissioner |
| Kieffer, Karl-Werner | - Executive Board Chairman of the G. M. Pfaff AG, Advisory Council of the Dresdner Bank |
| Nopper, Friedrich | - Factory owner, Stuttgart |

Dr. Paulsen, president of the Federal Union of German Employers' Associations and council member of the Dresdner Bank has repeatedly in his own person made speeches to the "Christian Young People's Village" organization.

Karl-Werner Kieffer, council member of the Dresdner Bank, Executive Board Chairman of the G. M. Pfaff AG in Kaiserslautern and member of the VDMA general management, is a member of the board of directors of the "Christian Young People's Village Work" (Das Jugenddorf, Stuttgart, 4/1962).

They are those mapping out political propaganda together with reactionary forces within the churches, and putting a political imprint on development "aid". One such force is the Lutheran Radio Station

"Radio Voice of the Gospel" in Addis Ababa, Africa, headed by 39-year-old program director Ulrich Fick, a clergyman and journalist from Stuttgart.

"Parson Fick knows that his broadcasts cannot have the sole purpose of propagating the Christian faith. The Africans, many of whom are illiterate, can be only cautiously introduced to Christian teachings. Therefore only 30 per cent of the broadcasts are to have a religious content, 70 per cent are to be devoted to worldly questions."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 18 April 1963)

Another activity along these lines is the dissemination of the so-called Program of Literature for missionary work overseas.

"Those involved in Christian missionary work overseas are now working on a special 'Program of Literature' to prevent Africans and Asians who have learned to read and write at missionary schools from using their knowledge to read communist propaganda publications."

(epd, No. 144, 27 June 1963)

In order not to give up completely the semblance of Christian charity "*the Protestant Kunst and the Catholic Wissing requested the Development Ministry to give assurance that the young development assistants would be given apostolic instruction before being sent off.*"

(Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 29 May 1963)

The purpose of the request backed by the highest religious dignitaries in the Federal Republic should be blatantly clear in view of the objectives of the churches' neo-colonialist activities proclaimed by clerical circles of the Federal Republic: to create the impression in the young national states struggling to consolidate their sovereignty and resist any infringement of their sovereignty and national dignity, any interference in their internal affairs, that the development "aid" granted by the Federal Republic is to serve only a humanitarian cause. But whether development "aiders" who have been trained on apostolic theories, or missions themselves work in these countries, they will be in most cases the henchmen of Bonn's neo-colonialist policy.

Concluding Thoughts

In this documentation we have proved the special aggressiveness and dangerousness of West German neo-colonialism because we feel obliged to perform this task in our joint struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Such a contribution is rightfully expected from us. We do this in the interests of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as of the German people themselves whose reputation is immeasurably damaged by Bonn's neo-colonialist policy.

In view of the dangers arising from West German neo-colonialism the existence of the German Democratic Republic is of great significance for the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. In the German Democratic Republic, the first German workers' and farmers' state, the best traditions of the struggle of the German working class and the humanistically-minded circles of the middle classes against colonialism have found a firm state basis. The support for the national liberation revolution is an urgent humanist concern of the population of the German Democratic Republic. It realized the right of self-determination on its own territory by liquidating imperialism. In this spirit it also emphatically supports the demand for self-determination of the colonially oppressed peoples and their liberation from imperialist subjugation.

The government of the German Democratic Republic therefore demands the immediate implementation of UN Resolution 1514/XV on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries. The German Democratic Republic which fundamentally broke with the imperialist German foreign policy is also bound to support the Afro-Asian states in resisting all actions directed against their independence. It supported the just struggle of the peoples of Indonesia for the liberation of West Irian, of Egypt in its defence against the imperialist Suez aggression, and of Algeria in the achievement of state independence. It sides with the liberation struggle in South Vietnam and condemns the military attack of US imperialism on the Dominican Republic.

The basis of friendly relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is the ob-

jective agreement of their interests. These include especially the joint struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones. They further include the joint interest in world-wide socio-economic progress, in the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the national states, in the rapid development of their national economies, the construction of their industries, especially the establishment and strengthening of the state sectors, the transformation of the agrarian structure through land reforms and the founding of cooperatives as well as the overcoming of mono-culture.

Ever more peoples and countries struggling for their political sovereignty and economic independence express the desire that the German Democratic Republic convey to them the experiences which it has gained in twenty years of economic and social reconstruction. Our country is glad to contribute to a real exchange of opinion and it poses no political conditions whatsoever.

The existence of two German states with opposed social systems means that not only the German Democratic Republic must assert its policy in constant struggle against Bonn's disturbances. Conversely, West Germany cannot play its role as disturber of the peace in Europe and the world without taking into account constant counteractions on the part of the German Democratic Republic. With regard to Bonn's neo-colonialist endeavours, however, the German Democratic Republic is, by virtue of its thorough knowledge of events in West Germany, in a position to warn the young states in good time of Bonn's neo-colonialist designs, to unmask its aggressive character and to partially counteract its effectiveness. The German Democratic Republic thus ties down forces of West German neo-colonialism and is a significant obstacle to its expansion and efficacy.

As an integral part of the community of socialist countries which, as states united in the Warsaw Pact, have taken over the great duty of protecting it, the German Democratic Republic is a faithful ally of the Afro-Asian countries. On the other hand, the German Democratic Republic esteems the national states as allies in its struggle for the maintenance of peace in Europe and in the world.

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Photographic Documents

**Emphasized friendship and open cooperation of the
West German government . . .**



. . . with Portugal

West Germany bought 60 pursuit planes in Canada and supplied them to the Salazar regime, its NATO ally. Despite Canada's protest West Germany expressly consented to the use of these planes in the Portuguese colonies

In 1961 the present West German head of government Erhard (centre) was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Santiago da Espana by Portuguese President Admiral Thomas (right)





Already in 1960 War Minister Strauss concluded agreements on military cooperation with Portugal
Strauss inspecting a guard of honour of Portuguese troops



Fascist dictator Salazar rages with murder and terror in Angola. In this he is supported with weapons by the ruling circles of the Federal Republic



... with South Africa

Miserable huts for the greater part of the African population of South Africa—a mirror of the fascist racial policy of dictator Verwoerd

"The native problem is in good hands here," West German Federal President Lübke said when he visited South Africa some time ago and glorified the racist regime

Our photomontage shows Lübke. In the background is a photograph of the massacre of Sharpeville

Lübke: „Das Eingeborenenproblem
ist hier in guten Händen.“



... with the USA in South Vietnam

The present West German War Minister von Hassel (left) during negotiations with US War Minister McNamara on West German support for the USA's dirty war in South Vietnam





West Germany is at the top of all imperialist countries, second to the USA, in its services to the US puppet regime in Saigon



Bonn police brutally attacked demonstrators who in March 1965 opposed the bomb and gas war in Vietnam and its support by the West German government

... with Tshombé

West German mercenaries help Tshombé to put down the national liberation movement. Former nazi officer Siegfried Müller (inset photograph) proudly bears the distinctions of the fascist Wehrmacht



Tshombé, the murderer of Lumumba, talking with Federal President Lübke who, during the Hitler war, was responsible for the exploitation and murder of the prisoners of a concentration camp



REVUE



Congolese freedom fighter with
the West German passport of the
fallen mercenary Bernd Michael
Köhler



. . . with Israel

In May 1963 the former Bonn War Minister Strauss visited Israel to confer with Levi Eshkol (left) on further West German arms supplies. Thus Bonn supports Israel in its function as a NATO spearhead in the Middle East



DER SPIEGEL



To General Klein
in friendship
D. Ben Gurion

F. Adenauer
New York May 1960
General Klein zur Erinnerung
an unsere gemeinsame Freundschaft
F. Adenauer

In 1960 Adenauer (right) and Ben Gurion, the heads of government of West Germany and Israel at that time, met in New York for an especially dirty business. Bonn supplied weapons as "reparations". Israel, in return, obliged itself not to name State Secretary Globke, Adenauer's closest confidant who under Hitler had provided the "legal" foundations for the murder of Jews, in the trial against Eichmann, the organizer of the murder of Jews

Dr. Kurt Birrenbach—second from right—is a member of the central advisory council of the Dresdner Bank, general agent and chairman of the board of directors of the August Thyssen Hütte AG in Düsseldorf and CDU member of the Bundestag. This exponent of West German finance capital and trustee of Wall Street, as Bonn's special commissioner, arranged for the delivery of murder weapons to Israel which are to be used against Arabs





... with South Korea

Inspektor General Trettner of the West German Bundeswehr (right), notorious for his war crimes in Spain, Holland and Italy, in December 1964 received South Korean General Kom Chong Oh for negotiations on the support of the South Korean army by the West German Bundeswehr

Left below:

South Korean dictator Pak Chung Hi (left) has up to now been given a state reception in but one country, the West German Federal Republic. Our photograph shows West German Bundestag President Dr. Gerstenmaier during his visit to Seoul in May 1964 with Pak Chung Hi

"**No more war pacts!**" the South Korean population emphatically demands. The answer: police truncheons and terror





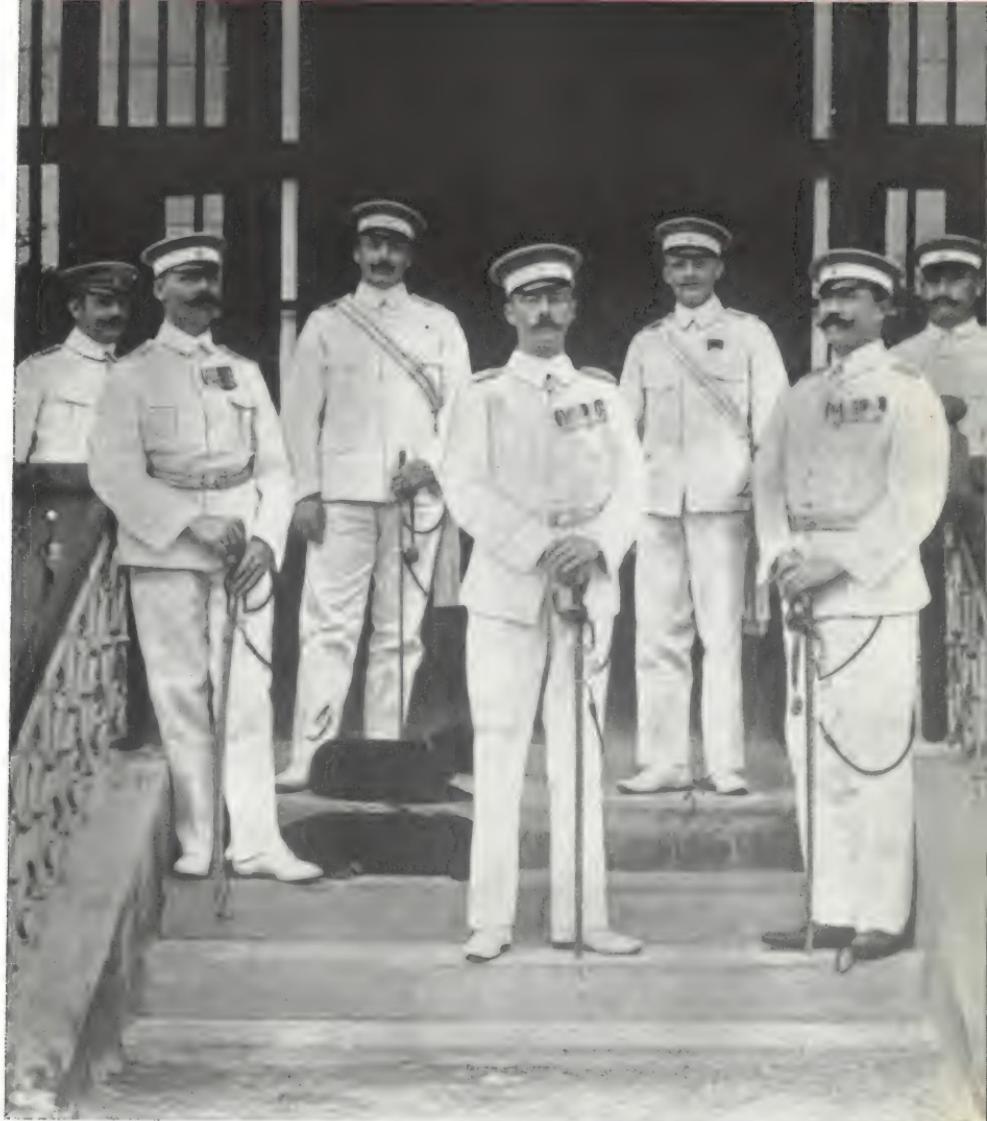
... with Thailand

West Germany occupies a significant place in Thailand, one of the politically most backward states in the world which is completely dependent on the USA. Our photograph shows head of government Sarit (left) and Federal Foreign Minister Dr. Schröder at a gala evening in Bangkok

Cultivation of colonial traditions . . .

Monument to Hans Dominik, one of the most brutal "Greater German Africa fighters", in front of the university building of the West German port of Hamburg





Commanding staff of the German imperial "protective troops" in Dar es Salaam in 1905. This "protective troop" is still glorified today in West German schools

Lettow-Vorbeck, the best known leader of the "protective troops", is presented to West German school children as a great model. Under his leadership the imperial "protective troops" murdered 68,000 Hereros and Hottentots from 1904 to 1907



1941: A unit of Hitler's Africa Corps marching through occupied Tripolis, the capital of Libya. The tradition of the colonialist Africa Corps is carefully cultivated in the West German Bundeswehr



**. . . and deliberate continuation
by West German neo-colonialism**



Hasso von Etzdorff, leading diplomat of the Federal Republic of West Germany. In 1940, as Hitler diplomat, he drafted the notorious Etzdorff Plan for a great Hitler German colonial empire in South and Central Africa. This plan is in a modified form the basis of the West German neo-colonialist policy in Africa today





▲ Berthold Beitz, general agent of the West German Krupp trust (centre of photograph, behind the flower arrangement) during talks on development "aid". Krupp is especially engaged in Angola, South Africa, Sierra Leone and Latin America

◀ Hermann Abs, under Hitler military economic leader and together with his colleague Weigelt colonial expert in the management of the biggest bank, the Deutsche Bank, which has been known for its imperialist colonial policy for decades. Today it is the driving force of neo-colonialist policy in South Africa, Central Africa and Latin America

Mass grave of prisoners who were murdered in Hitler's concentration camps with poison gas produced by IG-Farben. A few poison gas specialists of the IG-Farben are now working for the Verwoerd regime in South Africa





Dr. Karl Vialon, under Hitler charged with the "utilization" of the property of murdered prisoners of various concentration camps, is today state secretary for development "aid" in the West German government

The training of African soldiers and officers on West German barracks yards is part of the program of Bonn's military "aid" and serves long-term neo-colonialist plans



The master race — and resistance to it



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Left above:

Picture of the life of West German "development assistents" in India, taken from West German periodicals

Left below:

Imported shrunken heads from New Guinea for 19.50 marks. The advertisement was published in the West German "Stern", a mass illustrated magazine

Police ruthlessly intervened when in West Berlin African and German students protested against the presence of Tshombé, the murderer of Lumumba



Arabs reply to the West German neo-colonialists. Our photograph: The West German flag is hauled down from the balcony of the West German embassy in Cairo



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